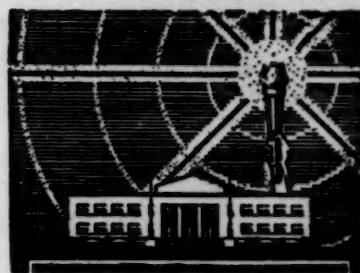


THE SOCIAL STUDIES



A PERIODICAL
FOR TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS

VOLUME XLVII, NUMBER 4

APRIL, 1956

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and appreciation
of what American freedom really is . . .

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The Social Studies

VOLUME XLVII, NUMBER 4

APRIL, 1956

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EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 809-811 North 19th Street, Philadelphia 30, Pa.
Subscription \$3.50 a year, single numbers 50 cents a copy.

Published monthly, from October to May inclusive, by McKinley Publishing Co., 809-811 North 19th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Copyright, 1956, McKinley Publishing Co. Entered as second-class matter, October 26, 1909, at Post Office at Philadelphia, Pa., under Act of March 3, 1879

As the Editor Sees It

The process of government in a democracy is in many ways a curious thing. When asked to define the term "democracy," most people will give a simple answer, such as "rule by the majority." Certainly majority rule is an important feature of the democratic system, — or rather it would be, if it occurred very often. Actually it almost never takes place, for the reason that there is no true majority. What government actually consists of is in compromising with all the minorities in relation to their strength until a proposition can be reduced to reasonable form and put to a vote. Probably the final question is truly favored by only a small minority, but the rest have to decide whether to vote for or against it according to whether its passage would be less objectionable than its failure to pass. Probably very few laws have ever been passed in a final form that was the exact will of 51% of the people involved. Legislation is what results from the forces applied by many minorities against a certain problem, like a group of boys playing pushball. Oftentimes the ball will not move at all, and when it does, it will probably go off at a tangent to either goal.

Minorities are powerful groups,—even small ones. Let no one believe that they cannot make legislation. For, as said above, there is no true majority. Most Americans may be white, Protestant Nordics, but there the homogeneity ends. In all essential political interests we are members of minorities, with special concerns quite different from others of the same basic origin

and faith. A Jewish doctor and a Colonial Dame may vote alike in opposition to socialized medicine, yet be on opposite sides in a battle over an anti-discrimination bill. Two men of exactly the same background may feel quite differently about labor unions. Which of these belongs to the majority? Probably neither, since when they finally get a chance to record their attitudes on the question, either by voting or by supporting a representative, the issue will have been so modified by other views that it thoroughly satisfies neither man. The only way a true majority view could be determined on any question in this country would be to follow a sort of Gallup Poll procedure of having a single question propounded by some imperial authority, to which we could answer only yes or no. Communist countries get their majorities that way. But the democratic way is to pull and push at the question from all sides, amend and re-write it, until it is either torn apart and discarded, or put finally into a shape that many minorities will accept, however reluctantly.

It is the good fortune of the United States and a few other democracies that our minorities are willing to compromise and so permit two-party government. It is the misfortune of France that their minorities insist on remaining independent at any cost, and so effectively prevent any action at all. Democracy, then, is not really majority rule, but rather a willingness of minorities to accept the collective result of a free-for-all. This is the great gift of the English and Scandinavian peoples to the world.

Industrial Science and the Liberal Tradition in Education¹

LOUIS BERNARD SCHMIDT

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The term "industrial science" was used in educational discussion at least one hundred years ago to define a new type of education for "the industrial classes." The classical and professional schools had been established and were functioning to their full capacity. The wonderful possibilities of science were just beginning to take hold of the people. Soon there developed a feeling, vague and ill-defined at first, that education should be more practical and better related to the daily life of the people. There arose, as a consequence, the demand for technical schools of applied science which should provide the type of education required by the industrial classes. This type of training was generally termed "industrial education." Governor James W. Grimes of Iowa further gave expression to the growing sentiment in favor of industrial education in his inaugural address of December 9, 1854, in which he urged:

But the state has a greater want, than of lawyers and doctors. She wants educated farmers and mechanics, engineers, architects, chemists, metallurgists and geologists. She needs men engaged in the practical duties of life, who have conquered their profession, and who are able to impart their knowledge to others. She wants farmers who shall be familiar with the principles of chemistry, as applied to agriculture; architects and mechanics, who will adorn her with edifices, worthy of so fair a land; and engineers and geologists who will develop her resources, and thus augment the wealth and happiness of her citizens. This want can only be supplied by the establishment of a school of applied sciences.

Industrial science education was defined by the Land Grant Act of 1862, the fourth section

of which provided that each state receiving the benefit of this law was to provide for the "maintenance of at least one college where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and mechanic arts, in such manner as the legislatures of the states may respectively prescribe in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life."

It will be noted that this section of the land grant act was broad and comprehensive. The primary purpose of the schools established under the act was to teach such subjects as are related to agriculture and mechanic arts. Military training was included. Other scientific and classical studies were not excluded. The state legislature was to provide for the teaching of these subjects "in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life."

Early courses of instruction in the land grant colleges were in fact courses in the basic sciences and the humanities. The applications of the sciences to agriculture and the industries were still to be developed. Industrial science was the parent trunk from which emerged later the schools of applied science which today constitute the various divisions of the land grant college: agriculture, engineering, home economics, and veterinary medicine. From time to time certain clearly marked spheres of technical applied science were delegated to the other schools or divisions while the numerous and important applications of science not so delegated remained in the school or division of science.

Leaders of the land grant college movement emphasized the fundamental importance of the sciences in their application to the problems of everyday life but they did not on that account ignore the function of other subjects in industrial education. They could not, however, anticipate the rapid growth of specialization in all branches of learning which was made possible by the application of the scientific method. This has been carried forward to such a marked degree as to constitute the distinctive feature of college and university education in our times. Specialization and the consequent multiplication of courses of instruction have constantly been absorbing more of the time given to general subjects. The colleges and universities of America, with the notable exception of the private liberal arts colleges, have in fact so differentiated their courses of instruction and fields of research that it is practically impossible for a student to receive a liberal education.

This differentiation of subject matter in educational programs is the counterpart of the division of labor in the world outside.

The present era may be described as an era in which work has become highly specialized while life has become more and more generalized. The situation to which these tendencies have contributed has been described in realistic and disturbing terms by Ernest Martin Hopkins, a distinguished educator and public leader and for some years President of Dartmouth College. This is what Dr. Hopkins said:

The world today is suffering from uncoordinated thought. Never was there more brilliant thinking and never was thinking more productive of accomplishment, but the thinking and the accomplishment of one group are entirely detached from the thinking and accomplishments of another. The inevitable assumption for all except philosophers comes to be that there is no relationship among these groups. A man's scholarship or another man's industrial leadership or still another man's financial genius may be outstanding in his field and yet be entirely without discriminating judgment in regard to public policies or concerning the responsibilities of citizenship. The era of specialization has developed so rapidly that we are still without consciousness of the sacrifices which it has entailed.

Specialization has largely destroyed the supply of men of broad talents formerly available for the organization of life for its greatest common advantage to all men. Our men capable of high potential thinking and of great works are being conscripted for service within highly specialized groups. Consequently, when under demands of the common welfare, the diverse interests of these groups have to be harmonized, when social compromises and adjustments are imperative, or when processes of government need to be made of maximum effectiveness, we have no sufficient number of competent minds to meet our needs. There are but few whose experience has given them any contemplation of life in its fullness or whose contacts with life have been broad enough to qualify them for undertaking these responsibilities.

The chief sources of difficulty in collegiate instruction are over-emphasis on departmental organization; excessive specialization; unwarranted multiplication of subjects; immoderate duplication of courses; refusal to send students to other departments for needed related courses; emphasis on research at the expense of good teaching; mechanization and dehumanization of teaching; instability of the curriculum; lack of coordination and integration of courses of instruction and fields of research; marked absence of self-education on the part of the student; and the failure of the college to develop on the part of the student a social consciousness, an active interest in public affairs, and a sense of civic responsibility. A recognition and frank appraisal of these difficulties in college education opens the way for a consideration of constructive forces which are already in evidence, although little has been done to implement them.

A recent survey of 50 colleges and universities, conducted by *Fortune* and published in the April 1953 issue under the heading "Should a Business Man Be Educated?" clearly shows that "the trend is more and more toward undergraduate specialization, with the result that students are taking and colleges are giving less fundamental education than ever before."² Between 1940 and 1950, the percentage of liberal arts-basic sciences majors among all college graduates—women as well as men—dropped from 43 to 37. Of the 227,029 men who re-

ceived their first degrees from 1306 colleges and universities in 1952, less than a third took courses that by any stretch of the definition made them products of a general education. These figures include all students who majored in the physical, biological and social sciences as well as the humanities and mathematics.

Leading educators and top businessmen are alarmed over this trend in college education. Who then is to blame? *Fortune* contends that business is largely to blame. But the colleges and universities must to a considerable degree also share the responsibility for the present situation.

Business makes its demands on the colleges through its personnel recruiters. The *Fortune* survey shows that recruiters from some 600 companies were on the nation's college and university campuses competing for the top talents of its class of 1953. The specifications show that the demand for men with a broad general education, particularly the liberal arts majors is not reassuring. Take Yale as a case in point. In 1950, of the 66 manufacturing companies that secured interviews, only 18 mentioned possibilities for liberal arts graduates. In 1951, but 15 of 91 companies mentioned them. In 1952 only 16 of 117 manufacturing companies referred to Bachelor of Arts graduates in their interviews. More hope was given liberal arts students by 11 banks, 21 insurance companies, and 16 department stores. Of 200 recruiters visiting Johns Hopkins in 1953, 145 were seeking engineers, 39 wanted other kinds of specialties. Only 16 were willing to take a look at liberal arts majors. In other colleges, the story is much the same.

That the colleges are also responsible for the reduction in the amount of time undergraduates are required to spend in fundamental education before launching into their vocational specialties is supported by the fact that most colleges swamp the student with vocational objectives. Take a look at the list of courses with vocational objectives in any college catalogue; you will be amused, and sometimes shocked, by some of the titles. This situation, outside of the private liberal arts colleges, is typical of American college education. The fundamentals of a liberal education are sacrificed to the urge of specialization in our twentieth century industrial society.

The time has arrived for a counter attack on the prevailing system of collegiate instruction and research which fails to produce educated men and women. What do top businessmen have to say about it? Sidney A. Swensrud, President and Director of the Gulf Oil Corporation says, "It is the broader-gauged man who is scarce, the man who knows his fundamentals well and learns the details as he needs them. . . . The men who come into management must understand the whole sweep of economic, political, and social life." James C. Worthy, personnel executive for Sears, Roebuck and Company, and special assistant to Secretary of Commerce Weeks, urges that the great need of the schools of business is "a program which will be far more educational and much less vocational." Irving S. Olds, lawyer and corporation executive, observes that "The most difficult problems American enterprise faces today are neither scientific nor technical, but lie chiefly in the realm of what is embraced in a liberal arts education." Other top businessmen have expressed themselves in a similar vein.

Fortune urges that, "The immediate remedies open to businessmen are fairly clear: (1) business should reduce its demand on the colleges for specialists who lack the fundamentals of a general education, even if it involves paying for greater training opportunities on the job; (2) corporations ought to give more generous financial support to the liberal arts colleges, now the principal buttress against over-specialization; and (3) top businessmen sitting on college and university boards should give moral support to general education programs in the undergraduate schools." As Frank Abrams, chairman of the Board of Standard Oil of New Jersey says, "The need for technically trained people was probably never greater than it is now. At the same time, we were never more aware that technical training is not enough."

American business is talking a great deal these days about its need for more broadly educated men. It wants more men who have acquired a range of interests and the mental discipline that education in the liberal arts and humanities is peculiarly well-fitted to give. More and more frequently, executives are heard to say that they can, within certain obvious limitations, create their own specialists

after they employ them; that what they need and can't create are men with a decent general education. The president of a large company recently complained: "The specialization is shocking. We're all obsessed with 'expertise.' In management conferences, executive training clinics, and business education get-togethers, others make the same point: overspecialization, they complain, is robbing business of potential top-management material."

Fortunately there is a wide-spread reaction among educators against overspecialization in college education and the consequent reduction of time given to liberal studies. Courses of instruction are being introduced with a view to providing students with strict synthesis and general overview of the fields of learning that are essential to the training of liberal and cosmopolitan minds.

President Lowell of Harvard in his last annual report observed four significant trends designed to overcome this deficiency in college education: (1) pursuit of a less vocational objective; (2) a greater correlation of knowledge; (3) a recognition of the principles of self-education, and (4) the stimulation of more vivid intellectual interests. "These trends," said President Lowell, "are not absolute, but relative; not the creation or substitution of new principles but a change of emphasis and attitudes on matters that have become familiar since education became self-conscious. Moreover, these four objectives are interrelated, the methods adopted to promote one of them having an effect upon the others also." He then proceeded to analyze these trends:

(1) "Less vocational" means regarding the purpose of college education less from the standpoint of its direct utility in a future career, and more from that of developing the faculties of a student; building the mind rather than storing it with special knowledge; teaching young men how to think accurately and comprehensively about large subjects rather than how to use the tools of a restricted field.

(2) "Greater correlation of knowledge" is to some extent the same thing regarded from a different standpoint. If the object is not so much to cram the mind with isolated facts as to learn how to use them, the student must be brought to compare them, to discriminate

between their relative importance, to verify them, and try to combine them into a system more or less consistent with itself. Feeding a living fowl is a different thing from stuffing a goose with chestnuts.

(3) "Self-education" is based on the principle that, beyond the mechanical elements, no one can be really educated against his will, or without his own active effort. Teachers can impart facts—not, perhaps, better than an earnest student can get them from books—they can explain, present points of view, and, if the pupil is not too reluctant, they can stimulate and inspire; but unless the student desires, or is provoked, to learn he will profit little. He must be made to educate himself, working out things by his own effort.

(4) "Stimulation of more vivid intellectual interests" is the most important point of all. It has, of course, always been the aim and despair of serious educators; despair, because it is the most difficult of all their problems in the absence of a strong vocational incentive. It is natural for teachers to pay most attention to the industrious and proficient students; and yet, while these usually obtain the greatest benefit, they are not always the ones that need attention most.

We are today in need of synthesis of courses of instruction; integration of the fields of knowledge. Analysis and specialization will continue; but no subject can stand and function properly alone. Synthesis and integration are necessary. The new conquests of the natural sciences have been achieved by the combination of the old sciences. The geologist is dependent upon mathematics, physics, chemistry, and even botany and zoology, so far as they relate to paleontology. The analogy between the social sciences and the natural sciences is shown by the fact that the economist is dependent upon history, political science, sociology, and social psychology. The interdependence of the natural sciences and the social sciences and the humanities must further be recognized. Integration of the fields of knowledge is necessary if we are to arrive at the truth which is the goal of all intellectual endeavor. The great problem of modern education is the correlation of knowledge.

The function of industrial science is the study and applications of the natural sciences to agri-

culture, industry, and commerce and to the problems of present-day civilization. Thus defined, industrial science has both a scientific and a social aspect. It is therefore important that this twofold function be kept in mind in the formulation of the industrial science program.

All intelligent persons recognize that technicians are most efficient and most useful to society when their specialized training has been supplemented by a good general education. Machine and organization efficiency will continue to grow in the future. It will affect the social order in all important directions. Education, recreation, sanitation, transportation, and social organization will affect, and in turn be affected by, industrial science education. Growing production efficiency will stimulate agitation in behalf of a shorter week and shorter day with respect to work schedules. Industrial science and technology will force upon the state a consideration of the best use of leisure periods from the standpoint of the individual and of society as a whole. A sound philosophy of industrial science education should therefore lay proper emphasis on human values. High standards of ethics, high ideals, and loyal devotion to the interests of human society must be the essential ingredients of this philosophy.

Industrial science education, properly supported by liberalized studies in the natural and social sciences and the humanities, will contribute most effectively to the ultimate improvement of the social order making for competence in citizenship, esprit de corps, and mutual understanding as well as for proficiency in some specialized field. It will prepare the young man going into industry to use the scientific method in the solution of problems he finds there and cause him to keep an open mind in order to take advantage of new methods which are improvements over the old. If he starts out with this quality and keeps it in good working order, he should not allow his habits to reduce his value to his business as the years go by.

The period of childhood for the human race has been prolonged. The trades and the professions demand, because of competitive factors, that the period of preparation be lengthened. The growth of the junior college movement is explained in part by the desire to prolong secondary education; and the liberal-

ized curricula in the college are just other phases of that movement. A breadth of training is just another method of deferring specialization. A liberalized education will also help us to use our leisure time more sanely. If we cannot build up a civilization that can find something worthwhile to do besides producing and consuming commodities, we are doomed. To build into our expert technical and mechanical skill as much general and liberalized training as possible is therefore so obvious as to require no defense.

The equivalent of the junior college training is coming to be recognized as a basis not only for professional work generally but also for specialized courses in industrial science. The junior college should serve two purposes: (1) preparation for such specialized professional work; and (2) the provisions of a general liberal training for those students who ought not to be encouraged to go further. Eventually, we may expect the junior college work to be linked up more closely with the high school since it is really an extension of the high school training. For those students who are going on into professional training in the colleges the junior college course should provide a broad basis and should include requirements of a fairly stiff character in language, natural science, and social science. For those students who do not expect to proceed beyond the junior college, the requirements should be reduced to a minimum and opportunity should be provided for becoming acquainted with the various fields of learning in a general way. The elective group system may be advanced as the most satisfactory method of handling this problem.

The serious lack in all industrial science education has been the failure to give students an understanding of our complicated social order. We have been accused with some justice of going ahead with science and invention without any idea whatsoever as to the effects of these inventions upon society. This will be remedied only by a recognition of the new trends already in evidence to which President Lowell has called attention and which when put into operation are destined to effect a reconstruction of collegiate instruction in this country. This reconstruction is already over-due. The colleges must meet the situation; if they do not they will be

severely lacking in capacity for adjustments to the needs of a rapidly changing society.

The tenets of industrial science education may now be stated:

1. *The Relation of the Specialized Curriculum to the Liberalized Curriculum.* The "liberalized curriculum" may be defined as a curriculum which has for its basis the humanities: English, the foreign languages, the classics, the social studies, and the pure sciences. The "specialized curriculum," it may be assumed, has for its basis the subjects that are directed to such ends as agriculture, industry, and commerce. It may be said that the specialized curriculum being directed toward fitting the student for a trade or profession, is concerned chiefly with the individual in his economic activities and is therefore directed toward material rather than aesthetic ends. A life directed solely toward such ends tends to be narrow, if not sordid and hard. The liberalized curriculum may be conceived as designed to make of the student a being who has the capacities which make for social happiness and well-being.

The "specialized curriculum" may be described as furnishing the trunk and the bare branches of the tree of life; the liberalized curriculum as providing the sap and the foliage, perhaps likewise the flower and the fruit. The former tends toward making life, or its continuance, possible; the latter ought to assist in making life worth living both to the individual and to his associates. The latter, properly used, ought to give meaning to the former in supplying knowledge which should not only enable the individual to pursue his specialty with more effectiveness; but which ought to enable him to form a more workable philosophy of life. Life lacks meaning without the ability to make comparisons; comparisons can be made only through the possession of knowledge and intelligence.

2. *Industrial Science Education in Relation to the Future Social Order.* The industrial achievements of the past seventy-five years have equalled, if they have not surpassed, those of all preceding periods of human history. This means that industrial science with the greatest momentum already attained will make even greater contributions to society in the future. Industrial development, uncontrolled bids fair

to become a Frankenstein. It will be the task of the social sciences and the humanities to control and direct these forces in the future; but there is no intelligent reason why industrial science education should not take into consideration the probable economic and social effects of our industrial organization. The development of social organization based on a sound philosophy is not only desirable; it is imperatively necessary.

3. *The Relation of Industrial Science to Technology.* Industrial science means the organization and systemization of knowledge relating to industrial functions. Technology is the application of industrial science to the industrial arts. The intimate relationship between industrial science and technology is therefore obvious. Industrial science discovers facts and systematizes them; technology applies them. No limitation should be placed on either of these functions, provided they are properly regulated in the social order. The responsibility for adequate regulation and control is the task of the social sciences which constitute an essential part of industrial science education.

4. *The Philosophy of Industrial Science Education.* Industrial development both in its operations and its effects on society has tended to expand much more rapidly than economic, social, and political organization for the control of this development. Governmental machinery has been inadequate for the task. There is an imperative need for the formation of an adequate and definite philosophy of industrial science education which will prevent industry from continuing its present headlong career. After all is said, man should be master of the machine; not the machine the master of man. This philosophy must have for its central tenet a recognition and appreciation of the fact that material values are in many respects less important than immaterial or spiritual values. There are limitations to material things. There are no limitations to the human spirit.

In attempting to define a philosophy of education it is worthwhile to turn to those who cling to the notion that the main business of life is to be fitted to live and for that every man and woman must come into contact with the great thinking and feeling that have marked great living. It is worthwhile to consider what Henry Van Dyke means when he says:

The object of a college education is not only to enable a man to make a living but to teach him how to enlarge and enrich his mental and moral life, to be more of a man, to be a real person and not a mere cog in the machinery of industry. The main thing is to teach him to use his own mind and to understand the thoughts of others. No need to cram his memory with unassorted information like a junk shop. Teach him through literature and science, and philosophy, how to see things as they are, imagine them as they might be, and he will tend to make them as they ought to be. Then you will have an educated man. And whatever he does, he will do better because he can think and feel.

President Hibben of Princeton once referred to an Oxford don who defined education as "what remains behind when you have forgotten all you have learned." President Hibben then proceeds to inquire: "What is it that remains behind?" This was his answer:

A mind, a tempered and skilled instrument of realizing the processes of will, a depository of ideas gained from study, contemplation, and experience, a creative power to make possible the things regarded as impossible, surmounting obstacles that are regarded as insurmountable, a creative power, a discerning faculty separating the essentials from the unessentials in a mass of confused and chaotic facts, penetrating the heart of a subject in any new and unfamiliar situation, a mind that is the enemy of sophistries, of loose thinking, and of hasty and ungrounded generalization. This is what remains, this is the product of education, man noble in resource and infinite in thinking.

The importance of a liberal education to American democracy cannot be exaggerated. Since ancient times, the liberal arts have been the arts known and practiced by man. Once again the colleges are called upon to train leaders, men and women who have the breadth of knowledge, the strength of character, and the force of Christian ideals to withstand the temptation of expediency and the weight of intolerance and indifference.

A liberal education stresses a broad field of knowledge. What we need is more of a simplified integrated and better ordered system of study in which the social sciences and the

humanities play an important part in collegiate instruction and research. This means getting rid of the "grasshopper curriculum." It does not mean narrow prescription. We see on the horizon a new emphasis on the liberal studies by which "the thoughts of men are widened with the progress of the suns." There is great need of a closer tie-up between all forms of education and industry. Industry needs special courses which will help young men and women to meet the problems of tomorrow. And the liberal studies must be made more vital and effective in their bearings on the world today of which we ourselves are a part.

Desire for men and women of broad intellectual and spiritual background has been gaining ground both in the professions and in business as well as among the more thoughtful people throughout the nation. Every citizen in a democracy has a responsibility to society, a responsibility for applying his specialized talent to the solution of community, state and national problems within his special field of competence. If the twentieth century is to belong to the common man rather than to tyrants and demagogues, he must be educated in the things that have caused men to conceive the meaning of freedom, to cherish and defend it, and to entrance it. This is our only guarantee of the future. The men who wrote the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States were educated in the classical colleges, the aim of which was held to be the preservation and transmission of the cultural heritage to future generations. The liberal arts are deeply involved in any program of education designed to preserve freedom in our rapidly changing society.

Milton S. Eisenhower, in his inaugural address as president of the Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science, declared that it is the business of educational institutions to provide the type of training that will enable men to acquire wisdom and conquer machines. He went on to say that "the technical schools and colleges have a responsibility, too. Perhaps theirs is the greater responsibility. For in our technical colleges we specialize in scientific disciplines and we therefore face the danger of encouraging a man to become a specialist within one discipline, and a dogmatist in affairs within other disciplines." "Our con-

cern," said Dr. Eisenhower, "is that men shall conquer machines, that machines shall not conquer men. Our concern is that men and women trained in scientific methods shall also gain tolerance and understanding and wisdom. Our concern is with the education of men and women determined to be free."

But this is not all. There must be more and better education for all—not simply the formal education of the colleges and universities but a continuing program of education reaching all classes of society. There can be no retreat into the gay nineties or the golden glow of the nineteen twenties. There can be no evasion of the perplexities of the present. We must face the realities of twentieth-century America.

Preservation of the liberal tradition and the democratic way of life constitutes a challenge

to leadership. This leadership must be founded on the three fundamentals of character, wisdom, and the will to achieve, for these elements are the imperishable values upon which rests the hope of human progress. If modern education is to provide this type of leadership it must produce in sufficient numbers the men and women of initiative, intelligence, character, and sense of social responsibility to assume the leadership necessary to preserve the integrity of our democracy in a world in which applied science has revolutionized the whole environment of human life.

¹ This is a revision of a paper entitled "The Philosophy of Industrial Science Education" which was presented before the Industrial Science Faculty of the Iowa State College, March 13, 1933 and published in *Social Science* for January, 1937.

² Permission to use data from this article granted by the editors of *Fortune*.

The College Graduate and Political Activity

FRANCES DELANCY ANDERSON

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Although professing to believe in democracy, a great many college graduates still hesitate to participate in politics. A flood of addresses, reports and books on higher education in this country has stressed *responsible citizenship*, yet much of our training is directed toward knowledge of government in the abstract while the active life of politics is reserved to the "politician." There is need for the school system from nursery through adult education to place more emphasis on the active participation of its citizens. The preservation of democracy depends on the willingness of citizens to take a positive interest in government policy and its formation.

A part of the apathy in the educated man is the result of a popular stigma attached to "politics" and "politicians." A public opinion poll has disclosed that sixty-seven per cent of the adults in this country do not want their sons to go into politics. Fifty per cent answered "no" when asked by the interviewers, "Do you think a man can go into politics and remain honest?" A few years ago a head of a New

England college made the statement that politics in the United States is such a dirty game that no gentleman can afford to become mired in it.

The post-war struggle of ideologies has increased the fear that any variance from the status quo will mark one as "radical," "red," "dangerous" or perhaps just "queer." The enthusiasm of idealistic students in the 1920s to organize and reform the world has in some instances met with such tragic consequences that the students of 1950 are reluctant to join any organization lest it sooner or later be dubbed "subversive."

Many professional and business men find themselves engulfed in circles which discourage or forbid political, especially political party, activity. Many graduates in political science, economics or law find themselves buried in civil service jobs which forbid partisan association. In some educational institutions, faculty members are either directly or indirectly forbidden to participate in political activity even as a volunteer project. A college faculty member

who took a leave of absence to serve two years in Congress returned to his teaching post only to find no job awaiting him. In some communities pressure becomes so severe that trained personnel on high school and college faculties are forbidden to run for even part-time city offices or to serve as technical advisers in other than strictly non-partisan positions. These persons are permitted to cast independent secret ballots, but they are not permitted to make a speech in behalf of political principles or candidates. Have we defined scholarship as a retreat to the secluded tower, where the contaminating winds of political frays never blow? Have we closed the channels of profitable interchange of ideas and information between the teacher and the community?

"Too busy" still serves as the excuse for some men and women to neglect their political responsibilities. How to bridge a gap between a busy citizen and his complex government has occupied many minds since Aristotle wrestled with the problem in his *Science of Politics*. Walter Lippmann in his *Phantom Public* stresses the need for simplifying the demands upon the citizenry. Certainly, in this age of the "expert" it is important that much of government be conducted by men and women carefully trained for their positions. But on matters of broad policy where the "public" is vested with discretion, time must be spent in clarifying the issues and interpreting the viewpoints of the candidates if democracy in the political sense is to survive. A busy person cannot spend much time in a task that is largely avocational and unremunerative, but men do spend volunteer time with the Chamber of Commerce, their lodges and their luncheon clubs. The American woman spends even more time with the Red Cross, the private social welfare agencies and the various women's clubs. These activities are important but today many issues are determined solely by government agencies, and the citizen does not contribute adequately to the control of these political functions.

Statistical studies indicate that women are more apathetic than men in political fields. Women recognize that their chances of holding public office are still negligible in this country. Their opportunities in party posts and pressure groups are great but they fear popular dis-

favor, criticism by husbands or the ridicule and jibes of party leaders. Recent articles appearing in popular journals have criticized pro and con the activities of women's clubs. These groups are turning to more consideration of political issues or at least are taking inventory of the nature of their programs. Nevertheless, in too many cases where women are trying to improve their own communities, there is still the tendency to work outside of the governmental agencies rather than through them.

Study groups draw a small percentage of college graduates and frequently are dull and ineffective. Even those which are well-conducted sometimes constitute an end in themselves, namely to inform but never to result in positive action. Information, discussion and deliberative thought in the field of international relations is important, but it is unfortunate if those well-versed in foreign politics permit the local school boards to become corrupt and ineffective. There are some college people who associate only with those of similar backgrounds. Their contacts outside the select group are in the role of "lady bountiful." The tragedy of "intellectual snobbery" has in some places become a greater curse than economic class distinction. College men and women have much to learn from those trained in the world of experience, and only through the interchange of their respective abilities will come the answer to effective political action.

In addition to all these reasons for citizen apathy, there is also a lack of knowledge of the techniques of political action. The individual who has worked under the premise that in a democracy what he thinks makes a difference becomes highly frustrated when he finds that he cannot control what he is able to foresee. On every hand the individual today is confronted with a wide gulf between seemingly remote political organizations and his own desires. We learn much in our colleges about how society ought to be conducted but we learn less about the techniques for creating such a society. The veterans attending college often show an increased interest in the practical aspects of politics. They complain that their college courses are too theoretical and demand a more realistic approach to the techniques of political

action. But, here too, some feel that the search for truth is a sheltered tower distinct from practical politics.

What can be done in the schools to encourage and train these students for positive political action? The first practical step is to bring the student and the teacher into the machinery of politics and to bring the politician to the student. The Citizenship Clearing House has been aiding in this step. This organization was established under the leadership of Arthur T. Vanderbilt, former Dean of the New York University Law School and at present Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey. Judge Vanderbilt is that rare combination of theorist and practical politician. He felt that both the college graduate and the political parties were losing by not uniting forces more effectively. The Clearing House was established to provide methods for bringing the student into frequent contact with, and understanding of practical party leaders. The parent organization was established at Washington Square College, New York City in 1946, and with the aid of foundation grants affiliate organizations have been established at different places throughout the United States. The Clearing House has sponsored summer workshops, week-end conferences, regional meetings and publications. By each of these devices the teachers and students are given a better understanding of the technical processes of democratic action.

The American Political Science Association in 1953 established the first of a series of internships in Washington in which persons well-trained in the theory of government could become better acquainted with the political process in action. The use of internships in administration is an old story but to extend their use to the political aspects of the government was a new adventure. During the first year six students—four college professors, one newspaper man and one lawyer—took advantage of the internships. The program is being continued and it is hoped that from these experiences better knowledge of citizen participation can be carried back to the college classroom and from there to the high school and elementary programs.

One college in New York invited its congressman to give a series of lectures in a classroom describing how the legislative process works.

He explained how a bill is born, how it is nurtured through to passage, the what and how of lobbies, the relationship of municipality to state and of state to nation, congressional committees and their work in executive session. He said, "I hope, thereby, to develop in the listener the urgency for his individual participation, the excitement and the challenge in politics, which touch upon the facts of his everyday existence, from the price of eggs to war and peace."

What can the individual college graduate do to increase his political activity? Since people are most interested in what affects them, they are more concerned about the government's program if they understand its effect upon them personally. Hence, there is great need for 1) the improvement of citizen information on public issues; 2) popular presentation of controversial subjects; 3) citizen committees to collect and distribute information about the government's program; 4) training in newspaper reading; 5) skill in the critical evaluation of prejudiced material; and 6) personal contact, organization and advance planning for the political campaign. Unless government policy is translated into popular terminology and the ballot made more meaningful, there can be little hope for democracy.

Local issues are easy to define, but confusion in local government powers makes it more difficult to locate the responsible government agents. Newspapers spend more time in analyzing foreign and national news and are often sparse or heavily colored on local problems. An ineffective garbage collection or an odorous dump may be obvious, but the method of elimination is more difficult to determine. The defining of issues can be conducted on a non-partisan basis. There is no Democratic or Republican way to pave a street or even to establish a United Nations Assembly, but the election of candidates to support that pavement or the United Nations may necessitate partisan activity.

The emphasis upon the "independent" thinker has produced a concept of the "independent" voter which abhors any affiliation with political parties. The magnitude and complexity of modern environment, however, necessitates political organization. In most communities it becomes essential that the active citizen

be a party member, a ward leader, a party committee member or at least a voter in a ward caucus or party primary. It has been said that "bad" men are put into office by "good" men who do not vote. A truer statement would be that "bad" men are elected because the "good" men take no initiative in the nominating process. Voters in the general election often have no real choice on the ballot. One must know the candidates and their political philosophy and be sure they get on the ballot if the vote is to be the basis in the democratic process. The interest must not be just for the general election but concern about the ward caucus, the delegates to the nominating convention, the local party committees and the day-to-day activities of the party machine. The task becomes not one of stigmatizing the political boss and machine but rather one of developing an effective organization that can be democratic and responsible to citizen opinion.

A final consideration is the problem of how best the individual teacher can gain information about practical politics and how he can contribute his knowledge to the betterment of his community. Social science courses should be

revised in such fashion as to emphasize practical action. There may be seminars devoted to field activity in politics and research in political behavior may be introduced. An important part of any program to widen citizen interest and political participation must be the creation of an interest among those who are not specialists in the social sciences. This interest may be encouraged by the introduction of interdepartmental courses which are founded on responsible citizenship training and which integrate the social sciences with other fields. Guidance in extra-curricular activity where interest and attitudes toward public affairs are developed should also be encouraged. For those teachers who are already in service, courses for adults in extension or general education could be directed toward a more enlightened citizenry.

Citizen participation in government is the very hub of the democratic ideology we are seeking to preserve. The part which college-trained people can take in providing enlightened leadership should be the focus for greater consideration by individuals and by the associations of college-trained people.

The Use of the Observational Method in Courses in Municipal Government

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How to make a course in city government interesting and meaningful is a problem that has plagued college instructors for probably as long as there have been courses in municipal government. This past semester I taught such a course in what was, to me, at least in the extent of its use, a new and different way. This involved a rather intensive use of the "laboratory" or observational method.

The class was small, only six members, juniors and seniors, which allowed full rein to this arrangement. We began by meeting the regulation three days a week with a series of background lectures and library readings. In the

third week we got into the "lab" phase, which continued for the remainder of the semester. Under this procedure, we met on Tuesdays for lectures, then spent Thursday afternoons (when the students happened to be free from classes) in detailed inspection of some municipal agency. For this purpose we used not only South Bend but also surrounding towns in both Indiana and Michigan.

Rightly or wrongly, we started at the top with interviews with several mayors. We met with them in their offices, and the usual process (as with most of the officials visited) was for them to talk for a half-hour or so using a wall

map of the city or other exhibits in the office to illustrate as they proceeded. Then followed a period of questions by the students. This was invariably a lively period with no dearth of queries and with no "sparing of the horses." Then came the third and final phase of the interview, a visit to some of the city's installations that had come up for discussion during the interview itself. In all, these afternoon visits usually consumed from two to three hours or more.

At the class meeting following each "field trip," there was always provision for "off the record" discussion of what had been heard and seen on the occasion of the previous visit. This was followed by my own observations on the previous visit and some remarks by way of background for the next visit. Incidentally, the students differed in their reactions to this particular procedure. Some thought they fared better if nothing was said about an agency, for example, police administration, until after we had visited that agency. They felt that then the following class lecture seemed to have more meaning. Others preferred to have the lecture precede the visit. This, to them, made the visit more intelligible. In our experiment, we tried to do a little of both, doing some afterwards.

We first visited Niles, Michigan (only ten miles from our campus), to observe the workings of a weak mayor type of city government, then went to Mishawaka, Indiana, for a view of the strong mayor type. In Buchanan, Michigan, we saw the manager system in operation on a small scale, but on a level where it was easy to see the real position and responsibility of the manager. Back in South Bend we saw the mayor of another strong mayor type, and by that time we were ready to contrast that type with the weak mayor and manager systems. The "behind the scenes" stories of city activities and the revelations of planned activities in the city by South Bend's mayor appealed to the students. Later at the office of the Street Department we observed a good example of political "spoils" in operation in a situation where every employee of a relatively large group was a partisan employee and subject to dismissal at any time without specified reason. We also inspected the equipment of the department with the Commissioner of Streets as guide.

This was the pattern elsewhere—police, sewage disposal, parks, fire, comptroller, engineering, law, schools, and city planning—everywhere we were welcomed by the chief of the agency and shown every courtesy.

Just for good measure we spent one afternoon at the office of the local taxpayers' organization—the South Bend Civic Planning Association. This group has proved very effective in local government circles in the city and county as a research agency and an instigator of reduced expenditures. It has become so respected that it is called upon frequently by officials from the Mayor down for information and even advice. We found its publications in almost every office we visited. We included this organization in our "travels" for two reasons. For one, it is entirely possible that some students, when they return to their home towns, may wish to form or to join a similar organization for intelligent citizen participation in government. Secondly, the officers of this organization probably know more about the detailed inner workings (particularly fiscal matters) of all city and county offices than any other single group in the city, not even excluding the officials. Not long ago, in a routine check, this association was responsible for the discovery of an error of one-half of a million dollars in the computation of a local budget.

Following each field trip, the students made a written report in the form of questions which they would ask if they were to make a return visit to the agency. Our experience was that most of the agency heads were more than pleased to have us visit them. There was a sort of pride of achievement in showing off their work. In no single instance did we encounter reluctance about the group's visiting the facilities.

In the course of the semester we visited fourteen municipal offices and attendant installations in South Bend and surrounding cities. It need hardly be added that textbook and library assignments followed the schedule of these visits, and, in addition, each student made a detailed report on his own home town government. In this manner a two-way approach was secured—the general by way of the textbook, library assignments, and lectures; the particular through visits to the South Bend area agencies and the home town reports, supplemented by the classroom lectures.

The Causes of War

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For the last two thousand years men have asked themselves what are the causes of war. No answer — no approximate answer even — can be given to such a question, since the causes are multiple and the conditions vary in every generation. The most we can hope to do is to analyze and define some of the causes and conditions which have led to wars in the past. Nor is such an analysis wholly useless.

War is always a resort to force; but resorts to force are not always war. When, for instance, an attack is launched by a powerful State against another State which is comparatively incapable of resistance, the ensuing operations are not always described as "a war" but are often given some different name. Thus we do not speak of the "Ashanti War"; we speak of "the Ashanti Expedition." We do not refer to "the German-Danish War"; we refer to "the German occupation of Denmark." There exist also certain means of physical pressure (economic sanctions, pacific blockade, naval demonstrations and so on) which, although acts of force, are not acts of war. Moreover, when the resort to force occurs internally, special conditions have to exist before it can qualify for the title of "Civil War."

Thus a resort to force whether it be external or internal, is only called a "war" when each party to the conflict possesses sufficient strength to fight, controls an important area of territory, and can establish a reasonable degree of civil or military administration. I shall not, therefore, be discussing piracy, infiltrations, rebellions, forceful pressure, or those colonial wars which fall under the scope of "punitive expeditions."

Is it, in the first place, possible to distinguish between different types of wars and to contend that, whereas some wars are natural and permissible, others are not? We should not today assert with Sully and the Abbe de St. Pierre

that wars between members of the same type of civilization are wrong, whereas wars between members of different types of civilization are justified. Often, however, we do make a distinction between wars of aggression and wars of self-defense. We must admit that in every war each of the combatants seeks to represent its opponent as the aggressor. Sometimes this accusation is justified by the historical facts; but in general the arguments as to who started the war are not convincing or scientific arguments.

Wars do not arise from clear-cut or simple causes, but from multiple causes and mixed motives; they are provoked when a certain combination of circumstances reacts upon certain accumulated states of mind. Thus I do not propose to base my argument upon any definable difference between aggressive and defensive wars: the dividing line between them is in general too blurred to furnish any valid distinction.

My use of the word "causes" also needs some definition. It has long been recognized that the "occasions," or the "pretexts" which provoke war are seldom its essential causes. Thucydides was the first to point out that the cause of the Trojan War was not, as many had supposed, the infidelity of the wife of Menelaus, but the desire of the inhabitants of the Greek mainland and islands to obtain the richer grazing grounds of Anatolia. The cause of the Crimean War was not a dispute regarding the precedence of the Orthodox clergy in the Church of the Nativity, but the fear that Russia might extend her influence over the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East. The cause of World War I was not the mad act of Gavriel Prinzip on that June day in 1914 but the accumulated and dual rivalry between Russia and Austria in the East, and Germany, France and England in the West. The cause of World War II was not

so much the aggression against Poland, as the accumulated conviction that the Nazi system could not be controlled or limited except by force. It frequently occurs, moreover—and especially in democratic countries—that the actual occasion or pretext of a war is forgotten once war becomes inevitable or that some other pretext is substituted in its place. Thus, although the cause of the First German War was what one might roughly call the maintenance of the Balance of Power, the pretext presented to the British and French people in those early days of August 1914 was not the assassination of an Austrian Arch-Duke, but the German violation of Belgium. Governments always tend, when embarking upon a war, to provide public opinion with some pretext which will appeal to sentiment or imagination. Although this search for sentimental pretexts, this frequent substitution of false pretexts, and this constant confusion between pretexts and causes, have done much to confuse public opinion, they do not, of course, account for the inability of historians to agree upon any definition of the causes of war.

It is not only their complexity and variety which have blurred any agreed diagnosis; it is also that the cumulative emotional effect of provocation has not been sufficiently recognized. In our memories we have an almost perfect instance of the determinant influence exercised by this process of cumulation. Public opinion in England and France came to regard war with Nazi Germany as inevitable, not because they had any particular views, or even emotions, regarding the Polish question, but because the accumulation of provocation on the part of Hitler created a general feeling that negotiation with such a man had become impossible. Viewed from this angle of cumulative provocation, one would thus identify as one of the major causes of the 1939 war Hitler's occupation of Prague on March 1939. Why is that date so important? Until that date, the English and French people had sought to persuade themselves that there was something to be said for Hitler's desire to liberate Germans living outside his frontier, and that once he had achieved this ambition he would become a reasonable member of the society of nations. After that date, it became apparent to many millions in England and France that the ordi-

nary processes of negotiations and contract no longer applied to this demonic personality; and that since force was his only standard, it was only by force that he could be restrained. If taken as an isolated incident in Hitler's power politics, the occupation of Prague was no more violent than his previous actions in seizing the Rhineland and Austria; but taken as an accumulative provocation, it becomes of immense importance as a cause of the 1939 war. I sometimes feel that the historians of the past have not paid enough attention to these "last straws" that break the camel's back.

With these reservations and suggestions, I now propose to analyse in schematic form what historians and philosophers have defined as the causes of war.

The first to be considered is that school of thought which contends that wars arise as a simple result of human nature. There are those, for instance, who suggest that wars would never occur were it not for the instinct of pugnacity or combativeness which is implanted in the human temperament. In primitive societies this may well have been true. One has only to recall the frequency with which Homer uses such expressions as "well versed in the lust of battle" or "rejoicing in his own prowess" to admit that in the heroic age battle was, in fact, as Aristotle said, "a species of hunting." It is obvious, moreover, that if everybody, everywhere, always, was too frightened to fight, wars would not arise. Yet it would be an exaggeration to find in this pugnacious instinct a major cause of modern wars. War today has become so highly organized that heroism itself is rendered communal and the opportunities for personal prowess or pugnacity have much diminished. Thus the combative instinct, even if we admit its existence, is fused today among a multitude of attendant motives and emotions.

There are those, again, who contend that wars are caused by states of fear. "In this age," writes Kantorowicz, "of government by the people and of warfare by the people, the decisive, and almost the only, cause of war is fear of war." Certainly, when considering the cumulation of effects, which I have already referred to, we must attribute a major role to the cumulation of uncertainty and anxiety. There may come a stage when the sense of insecurity, the despair of reaching any valid or

stable agreement, causes widespread desperation. People increasingly say to themselves: "Anything, even war, would be preferable to this constant and prolonged uncertainty." But is it really fear of war, as Kantorowicz says, that produces war? Is it not rather fear of something else; of loss of power, of freedom, of honor, of independence? Is it not, in other words, the element of self-preservation? And can fear be defined as the motive for a purely aggressive war, for a war, that is, which is undertaken for purposes of gain and which becomes, therefore, in Aristotle's words, "a means of acquisition"?

Obviously some wars in the past have arisen from a sense of fear, but not all wars; and thus while we must accept fear and pugnacity as frequent components of the states of mind which produce wars, we cannot define either of them as actual causes. Let me suggest a further argument. If fear were, in fact, the main cause of war, then preventive wars would be much more frequent than they are. The United States, for instance, would wish to provoke war with Russia in order to destroy her before she can herself develop large quantities of hydrogen bombs. Yet, in fact, preventive wars pure and simple (that is, wars delivered against a potential enemy without provocation and solely in order to prevent that enemy from gaining strength) are comparatively rare. They usually occur when one State is engaged in war with other States and desires to prevent a surprise attack by a third State. Napoleon's Spanish campaign and Hitler's attacks on Greece and Russia were in this sense preventive wars. Preventive actions, as distinct from preventive wars, are less uncommon. We have the example of Nelson's action at Copenhagen and, in more recent and tragic memory, the attack upon the French fleet at Mersa-el-Kebir.

In discussing the psychological causes of war, there are two other emotions which must be briefly mentioned. The first is revenge for previous defeat, which is unquestionably a most powerful incentive. It operated upon French opinion between 1870 and 1914, and on German opinion between 1918 and 1939. The second is a sense of grievance. The effect upon German feeling from 1870 onwards, and on Italian feeling from 1918 onwards, of an imagined denial of opportunity was most pernicious.

The Germans felt that they had been ill-used by history in that they had achieved unity and power only when the spoils of the world had been distributed to others. The Italians felt that their services in the 1914 war had not been duly rewarded. This sense of grievance, of injustice, is a further psychological factor which we must bear in mind.

A further theory which is sometimes advanced is that war is not an occurrence but an institution—that it is one of the regular and settled modes of human action, for which provision is made in the ordering of life in our great political communities. It is certainly true that some degree of preparation for war is common to all modern States. It is also true that war only becomes war when organized military institutions exist. Thus a revolution only becomes a civil war when each side has some institutional apparatus; without that it rests at the stage of a revolt. Moreover, raiding expeditions, such as the Viking descents upon England, or the European occupation of Polynesia, were not exactly wars since no organization existed on the other side. To say this, however, is not to say that trained armies and navies, or the existence of a munitions industry, are the causes of war. You cannot have wars without them; they may in certain conditions develop into aggressive militarism; but it is to my mind a mistake to say that the existence of trained forces and an armament industry is an institutional cause of war. One might as well contend that railroad accidents are caused by trains.

Let me now pass from these theoretical causes, from these institutions and states of mind, to a consideration of the more practical causes of war.

(1) *Dynastic Causes*: It was the fashion after World War I to contend that the old dynastic causes of war were no longer operative. This illusion arose, I suggest, from a too narrow interpretation of the word "dynastic." It is true, I suppose, that a situation is unlikely to arise in which the Queen of England would seek by force of arms to establish her sister on the throne of Hanover. But dynastic wars were not undertaken solely for purposes of family aggrandizements. The dynasty in the old days represented a highly centralized authority operating by dictatorial methods. Any authori-

tarian system is bound to be extremely sensitive to prestige. In a democratic State, the electorate is not so prestige-conscious, since, if things go wrong, they can always blame it on the Government and, if necessary, replace that Government by another. But any authoritarian, dictatorial, or single party system is bound to be sensitive to prestige. As history has taught us again and again, such a system is not only obliged by its own dynamics to be increasingly successful, but it cannot (in that it possesses no alternative to itself) discover any alternative to success: it cannot survive either failure or loss of face. Had it not been for the potency of this "dynastic" motive, Napoleon could have secured a reasonable peace at the Chatillon Conference.

We have seen this dynastic, or single party, danger operating before our eyes in the history of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. We see it operating today in the case of Soviet Russia. The main argument, to my mind, against any totalitarian system is that it includes no alternative to its own success. In this, as in other respects, it is infinitely less elastic than a democratic system; it possesses no buffers or cushions to act as shock-absorbers. Thus if you extend the meaning of the term "dynastic" to embrace all systems in which a minority holds power by force, and in which that minority is obliged by its very nature either to succeed or perish, then we must admit that the "dynastic" causes of war are as operative and as menacing today as they were in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

(2) Religious Causes: It was believed again in 1920 that, with the spread of universal toleration, there was no longer any danger of religious wars destroying the peace of mankind. This also was an illusion, based upon too narrow an interpretation being given to the word "religious." Since, even if we isolate the causes of the Wars of Religion from the dynastic and acquisitive elements which they contained, there remains a hard core of dogma which was certainly a cause of war. A given State came to believe that its own form of dogma or revelation was so definitely superior to that possessed by, or revealed to, other States, that it was morally justified in imposing its own theory upon others by force of arms. When to this moral purpose were added (as they always were

added) intentions of expansion, security, domination and gain, a powerful combination of motives was created which constituted an incentive to war. It is of little use, when such situations arise, for the menaced States to assert that they much dislike war and have little care for dogma. The proselytizing State wishes to convert the heretics and to bend them to its will; it is little use, as the Incas and the Zoroastrians discovered, for the heretics to argue that they have no wish to be converted. One cannot counter fanaticism merely by sweet reasonableness.

Nor is this all. All rigid dogmas are based upon certain axioms, beliefs, certitudes and hallucinations. This is especially true of those dogmatic systems which are founded, not upon spiritual concepts, but upon dialectic materialism. The logic of the Soviet dogma, for instance, forces them to believe that the capitalist world will be unable to break the cycle of boom and slump and will thus in the end be obliged to resort to dictatorial systems which can only end in war. It may be that if we can preserve world peace for fifteen or twenty years, and if, in the interval, the United States and her Allies can prove in practice that they can avoid slumps and inflation without destroying liberty, it may be that, if they can achieve this difficult task, the Soviet fanatics will be convinced that the Marxist dialectic was incorrect. But until that can be proved, there will be many influential members of the Russian governing class who will regard it as part of their dogma that a war between the Western and Eastern worlds is sooner or later inevitable. Of all the causes of war, the most potent is the belief that war is inevitable. And thus, so far from having emerged from the stage of Wars of Religion, we are about to re-enter that stage under new and disturbing conditions.

(3) Economic Causes: The third, and to many minds the most operative, cause of war is the economic cause. It would assuredly be the most compelling cause of all were it not that no State can in modern conditions impose unendurable economic pressure upon another State without causing damage to itself. Thus, whereas high tariff walls can be erected (and can cause much resentment, and even suffering, in other countries) there comes a point at which excessive tariffs work to the detriment

of those living inside the wall. Serious frictions may also be caused by attempts on the part of a Government to deflect the normal flow of trade, such as the various subterfuges of state trading, dumping, bulk purchase, credit and the endless currency and exchange devices which Herr Schacht and others practiced with such skill and cunning. All these must certainly be recognized as causes which, in certain combinations of circumstances, can provoke wars. To define them, however, as the sole, or even the major causes of wars is, in my opinion, to underestimate the interaction of advantage which is inherent in all economic relations.

More serious perhaps than these purely economic causes is the pressure of population. We all know that many of the wars of the past, even in pre-history, have been caused by the migration of peoples seeking subsistence. In modern times this pressure was relieved by mass immigration to the New World or to Australia. With the introduction of immigration restrictions, such as the American Immigration Restrictions Act of 1924, this safety valve was clogged. In Japan, for instance, this population pressure became almost unendurable; they sought to solve it, partly by industrializing themselves in order to feed their people by exports to food-producing countries and partly by physical and forceful expansion. To a perhaps lesser extent, a similar population pressure explains Italy's wars with Turkey and Abyssinia. And Hitler was not merely using a phrase when he exploited the slogan "Volk ohne Raum." The demographic problem has been a frequent cause of wars in the past: it may also be a cause of wars in the future.

The problem of war materials or the blocking of transit and transport are also problems which may, in coming generations, constitute a major cause of war. Hitherto raw materials have been either fairly equably distributed or have been comparatively available to the countries having need of them. Now that certain raw materials, such as oil and uranium, have acquired such enormous importance, we cannot be certain that the old easy-going methods will continue. And we must face the fact that if conditions arose which denied to a powerful country raw materials essential to its industry or its defense, or blocked its natural inlets and

outlets, a situation would be created which might induce that country to secure these raw materials and outlets by force. Thus, while it would be an exaggeration to state that all wars are in the final analysis caused by economic needs, it would be true to say that some wars have been so caused, and that the denial of such needs in future may create a situation of the utmost danger.

(4) Political Causes: Karl von Clausewitz, as we know, defined war as "the continuation of policy by other means." This is often regarded as a monstrous statement to have enunciated. It does not seem to me a monstrous statement; it seems a precise and sensible statement. In a world organized into separate sovereign States, recognizing no authority more ultimate than their own national sovereignty, it is evident that powerful countries will, if they are unable to obtain their desires by consent, endeavor to obtain their desires by compulsion. It is also obvious that other powerful countries, when exposed to such compulsion, will resist. This seems to me a truism.

It is obvious also that occasions may arise when countries suffering from authoritarian system, possessed of great physical power and a dominant aggressive class, and faced with other States whom they believe to be weak, but who may in reality be merely pacific, are apt deliberately to provoke wars for purposes of national or dynastic aggrandizement. The Napoleonic wars were so provoked; even as Hitler's wars were so provoked. If, on the other hand, the other States are too weak to resist this imposition, then you have the dominance of a single Power, as you had under the Roman Empire, or as you might have had under Hitler, had it not been for the resistance manifested by the Allies.

The danger to international peace represented by a strong State which desires to dominate other States is too obvious for discussion. More interesting is the effect upon States, who believe themselves to be immune from aggressive tendencies, of the need for security or self-preservation. We are familiar with the process by which, in order to secure the frontier of territory A, territory B is occupied or protected, whereas territories C, D and E are thereafter drawn into the zone of security, and before one quite realizes what has

happened vast Empires, or areas of influence, have been marked out. In modern conditions, where naval and air bases are far distant from each other and dispersed, this search for points of security or defense may have unexpected developments. The political or strategic purposes of non-aggressive Powers may thus acquire a scope and magnitude which differentiates their expansion but slightly from that of Powers who are avowedly and unashamedly aggressive. The uncontrolled search for ever-widening zones of securities may thus be just as much a cause of war as the purely predatory ambitions of an aggressive State.

My contention is that wars arise when certain conditions combine to affect certain states of mind. If the conditions are present and the states of mind absent, then war may be avoided: if the states of mind are present and the conditions absent, then war may also be avoided; but if both the conditions and the states of mind are present together, then you have a situation which is very likely to produce war.

It is not my intention to consider the prevention of wars. That would require a separate analysis, under the heading of the causes of peace. I would suggest only that the principles to be followed when disorder threatens either internally or externally are constant principles. They are, first, the maintenance of law; secondly, the redress of grievances. The first must be a prior and immediate policy; the second must be a long-term policy.

The only condition which will deter an aggressor from provoking war is the certainty that he will lose it. In domestic affairs that certainty can be provided by the overwhelming power of the forces of law and order; in inter-

national affairs there are no comparable forces of law and order, and other devices have to be adopted. There is the Balance of Power, under which the forces of order, so to speak, are at least equal to the forces of disorder; but the Balance of Power is a precarious, unconvincing and often dangerous expedient. The old conception of the Balance of Power, or the Just Equilibrium, has therefore been succeeded by the newer conception of some universal institution, such as the League of Nations or the United Nations, designed expressly for the prevention of war. But owing to the existence of national sovereignties, with their attendant reservations about "vital interests" and "national honor," mankind has as yet been unable to create any institution of international law and order which can compare in certainty of function, or immediacy of effect, with the institutions which exist within civilized and ordered States. The short-term policy should be, therefore, to create an institution which, if not universal, shall at least place the preponderance of physical power in the possession of those States which desire peace more than they desire war. And, finally, such an institution should aim, as a long-term policy, at the redress of grievances. One has only to state such a policy to realize how difficult it will be to attain and how invidious it may prove in its application.

One thing alone is certain: one cannot avoid war merely by proclaiming that one dislikes it, any more than one can avoid cancer by signing a pledge never to have it. One can only hope to avoid it by remaining vigilant, strong, united and patient to a degree. And lest it seems that my conclusion is too inconclusive, I can say that I do believe profoundly in the passage of time. A war postponed may often be a war averted.

Nicholas II — 1868-1918

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Turmoil and tragedy characterized the reigns of most of the tsars of Russia. From the death of Peter II (1727-1730) until the assassination of Nicholas II (1894-1918) there was almost always some bloody intrigue associated with the death of the ruler. Peter II was liquidated

by his wife; a generation later the lovers of Catherine the Great strangled her son, Paul I (1796-1801); Alexander I (1801-1825) walked away from the palace, became an anonymity, and never returned. There were tales of foul play connected with the death of Nicholas I

(1825-1855). His son, Alexander II (1855-1881) was blown to pieces by the bomb of a terrorist, and Nicholas II (1894-1918) and his whole family were shot in a cellar. Because of these violent exits of his ancestors, Nicholas II did not contemplate his accession to power with any degree of pleasure. Had he known that he was to be the target of assassins' bullets on thirteen different occasions and that he would eventually succumb to violence, he would have had an even greater aversion to the throne. As it was, when he was informed of his father's death he was gripped by terror and timidity. He lamented to his cousin: "Sandro, what am I to do? What is going to happen to Russia? I am not yet prepared to be Tsar. I don't even know how to talk to the ministers." Unfortunately that was an accomplishment which was beyond his capacity. He anticipated his reign with morbid forebodings: "Believe me, I am the ill-fated Tsar, and this is far more than just a premonition on my part: I am firmly convinced that painful trials will be my share, and that I shall not receive any reward in this world."

His mother recognized her son's incapacity. Only upon the threat of being declared guilty of treason did she finally take the oath of allegiance. Choked with tears she implored that he be denied the succession. "Can't you understand? I know him better than you; he is my son, and no one is nearer than me, but under his rule, Russia will go to ruin."

Though Nicholas' parents were strong and admirable people he was no tribute to his forbears. His father was Alexander III (1881-1894), a giant of a man. On one occasion he walked into a blacksmith shop to see what kind of shoes the smith was putting on the horses' feet. Alexander took a shoe in his hands, twisted it all out of shape, and reprimanded the blacksmith for shoeing the horses with such pliable material. The blacksmith asked the Tsar for reimbursement for the destruction of his material whereupon Alexander handed him a ruble. The smith took the coin, twisted it, threw it away and reproved the Tsar for providing his people with such poor money. Alexander could tie knots in iron rods, as well as perform many other acts quite beyond the strength of his subjects. Unfortunately he did not possess a proportionately powerful intellect,

although he did possess a firm will. Nicholas not only admired his father for his rugged masculinity, but stood in awe of this Cyclops, and secretly cursed himself for lacking his father's vigorous constitution.

Nicholas' mother was Maria Feodorovna, daughter of the king of Denmark. She was also the sister of Alexandra, Queen of England and wife of Edward VII. Maria Feodorovna was a dowager with an inflexible will. Grand Dukes who defied everyone feared and respected the old woman. They knew that her nod in favor of a proposal constituted a powerful endorsement while her frown condemned a measure to defeat. Though she possessed both character and intelligence she failed to transmit these qualities to her son. How two people as strong as Alexander and Maria Feodorovna could have become the parents of a son so weak as Nicholas remains to be answered by future geneticists.

Alexander III ordered Nicholas' tutors "to neglect nothing that will make my son a man." But Alexander knew that the task of casting Nicholas in a heroic mold was hopeless for he confided to one of his ministers, "Don't tell me that you never noticed that the Grand Duke is a dunce." On one occasion Alexander III made Nicholas swear that he would abdicate the throne as soon as his brother Michael should reach the age of twenty-one. "You yourself," Alexander III said, "know that you cannot preserve Russia. Preserve her until Michael comes of age." Nicholas promised, only to violate his pledge.

Nicholas was tutored by distinguished scholars of old Russia. These teachers reported to the royal palace, delivered their lectures, and took their leave. There was no quizzing. Nicholas listened apathetically, and after each period of instruction, confided to his diary how the various pedagogues had bored him. No information ever aroused his curiosity, no instruction ever quickened his interest, no idea ever fired his imagination. Nicholas possessed at most only a moderate intelligence. What was worse he took no pains to sharpen it. At twenty years of age when his formal education ended, he entered into his diary the revealing admission: "Today I have definitely and forever finished studying."

What contributed to Lincoln's greatness was his continuous self-improvement. After he had completed his First Inaugural Address he took it to the Springfield village school master and asked him to look it over for grammatical mistakes, and through continuous self improvement he developed an artistic command of English prose. Michaelangelo, at the age of seventy-eight, became court architect of the finest piece of architecture in the world—St. Peter's Cathedral. He maintained that position under four succeeding popes until he became so frail that he could no longer walk, so blind that he could not see, and so deaf that he could not hear. Yet he had his servants carry him into the cathedral where he ran his fingers over the marvelous statuary, and in a joyous outburst exclaimed, "I can still learn, I can still learn!" But as for Nicholas, by the time he was twenty, even before he had learned how to study, he had also abandoned self-improvement. Even in maturity he despised intellectuals. "How I hate that word! I wish I could order the Academy to strike it off the Russian dictionary."

Upon the completion of his formal education in 1888, Nicholas was established in his own palace at Peterhof and pursued the carefree life of a young Grand Duke. He was then somewhat of an innocent puritan. To him the wicked world had been a closed book, for he had been shielded against his own weaknesses. But in taking up his residence he left the barriers against waywardness behind. Young aristocrats gratuitously proffered their time and talents in order to initiate him into the gay life of the capital. He developed familiarity with night clubs, bars, ballets, and ballerinas, so much so that it created a scandal. He had established a liaison with Kszesinska, an attractive opera star. When his father tried to stop it, he discovered that the hitherto submissive boy had somehow become a defiant man. To break up the questionable relationship, Alexander sent Nicholas on a trip to the Far East. On this journey two incidents left a deep impression on him emotionally. In a wrestling match with his brother George on board ship the latter fell through a hatchway and was so seriously injured that he died two years later. Then while he was in Japan a fanatical Japanese nationalist tried to assassinate him.

Upon his return from the Far East, his next

great project was a trip to the Near West to arrange a marriage. Alexandra of Hesse-Darmstadt had twice been a guest of her sister, Grand Duchess Elizabeth, Consort of Nicholas' uncle Sergius. On her first visit she was so small that she was devoid of feminine appeal, but her second visit attracted wide attention. About the only one she impressed favorably was Nicholas, but that was not unimportant for he was her prospective husband. Alexander III disapproved of her, and Maria Feodorovna tried to prevent the marriage. By this time Russia had entered into an alliance with France, so the Petersburg court society swung against Germany. Since Alexandra of Hesse was German she too came under the ban.

Alexandra and Nicholas pursued a leisurely courtship until 1894 when quite suddenly it was observed that Alexander III was mortally ill. Only two weeks before his death Alexander III sent a telegram to Alexandra, his prospective daughter-in-law, and asked her to his dying bedside; thereby the Tsar gave his belated blessing to his son's betrothal. Alexander III died on November 1, 1894, in the Livadia Castle, in Crimea, and then ensued a funeral procession from cathedral to cathedral in which requiems and masses were held amid tolling bells, burning tapers, float-incense and tearful faces. All Russia indulged in an orgy of mourning such as only the Slavs can manifest. It was a sad journey from Crimea to Kiev, to Odessa, to Borki, to Charkov. On the way to the Kremlin ten stops were made for litanies. Eventually Alexander's remains were deposited in the Kremlin and his soul consigned to God.

Four weeks later, November 26, 1894, Alexandra and Nicholas were married in the Arabian Hall after which, according to an old Russian custom, the newly-weds received salt and bread from Maria Feodorovna, the groom's mother.

Alexandra was regarded as one of the most, if not the most, beautiful of the crowned heads of Europe. In her way she had devotion but she showered it in the form of possessiveness. She lacked intelligence, she was devoid of understanding, and she had no real sympathy. She had been reared a Lutheran, and upon marrying Nicholas she accepted Orthodoxy, and eventually embraced it with the fanaticism of a new convert. Whatever her narrow intelli-

gence could not fathom she interpreted in terms of religion, and eventually when it did not give complete satisfaction she resorted to occultism. Shortly before Nicholas' engagement to her, Count Osten-Sacken, Russian Charge d'Affaires at Munich, inquired of the Darmstadt Ober-Marschall what he thought of Alexandra. The latter replied in the strictest confidence: "What a piece of good luck it is for Hesse-Darmstadt that you are taking her away!" Nicholas started his reign with an unfortunate helpmate.

Alexandra did not appreciate Russian society. She, with her prudery, looked upon Russian women as sexual adventuresses. "I hate the ladies of St. Petersburg," she announced. She complained that the heads of Russian women "were filled with nothing but thoughts of young Russian officers." She maintained that the Russian aristocracy was "rotten to the core." It is not surprising that Russian lords and ladies viewed her with disapproval. They called her the "Hessian fly." Her son's incurable hemophilia drove her into hysteria and under the influence of the rascal Rasputin.

Nicholas was in need of an able partner for he did not possess the qualities required for the autocrat of all the Russians. His capacities might have qualified him as a township trustee. The Marquis de Custin affirmed that "The Tsar is God the Lord. . . . In our day there is in the whole world no single man who has at his disposal such unlimited power as the Tsar. . . ." To demonstrate that power to the British ambassador Ivan the Terrible had grasped one of his courtiers and thrown him off the ramparts of his castle to his death many feet below. Such power was in his office not merely to abuse but also to promote the welfare of his subjects. The exercise of this responsibility and power was beyond the resources of Nicholas.

Nicholas was an autocrat without a will. He was a weak man who was afraid that others would discover his flabby volition. He agreed with callers of opposing viewpoints. This was well illustrated in one of his letters to his uncle, Grand Duke Vladimir. Nicholas had appointed an officer to command the Guard Corps, and then he had been persuaded to revoke the appointment in favor of another choice. Writing to his uncle about this case, he admitted, "In the entire incident it is my kindness that is at fault. Yes, I insist on it, my stupid kindness.

In order to escape a quarrel, to avoid spoiling family relations I constantly give in, and end by being a fool, without will or character. . . ." Count Sergius Witte could sincerely say, "What a small 'Great' autocrat Nicholas is."

Nicholas agreed with employers and then reversed himself and agreed with employees. An employer upbraided his employees as lazy, drunken, irresponsible and brutish. Nicholas acquiesced: "You are right, you are right, you are quite right." No sooner had the caller left than a representative of labor appeared and denounced the employers. The labor leader charged them with imposing hard work, long hours, low pay, unsanitary environment, tricky bookkeeping and brutal discipline. Nicholas listened sympathetically, and assured the labor leader, "You are right, you are right, you are quite right." After the departure of the last caller, Alexandra who had been eavesdropping, entered and reminded her husband that he had agreed with one and then with another on diametrically opposing issues. "Nicholas," she said, "You are the Czar of all the Russians. You must display a firm will. You must have back bone." Whereupon Nicholas agreed, "You are right, you are right, you are quite right." His ablest prime minister, Witte, declared that "His mind was a house divided against itself." Before making an important decision he invariably asked his ministers, "What do you think my father would have done in a case like this?" When his mother counseled with him Nicholas responded courteously, "I absolutely agree with you, Mama." Witte further maintained that "A ruler who cannot be trusted, who approves today what he will reject to-morrow is incapable of steering the ship of state into a quiet harbor."

Even before her marriage Alexandra was conscious of her prospective husband's lack of decisiveness. When she had been called to Alexander III's dying bedside, she had insisted to Nicholas that, as heir presumptive, he should demand of the doctors that they should report to him on the condition of his father. In hundreds of letters with which she later bombarded him she implored him "to be firm. Be a Peter the Great, a John the Terrible, an Emperor Paul. Do not laugh at me. I passionately desire you to be a man toward those who attempt to direct you." But that was beyond the

power of her husband, as he repeatedly displayed. Nicholas was indecisive to the point of exasperation of his ministers. One of the best examples of this occurred at the opening of World War I. He had approved the proposal of his advisors to mobilize the armed forces. Then before the execution of the order he had received a personal message from William II earnestly requesting that the two attempt to arbitrate the issues involved. To the despair and wrath of the high civil and military officers, Nicholas cancelled the mobilization order. Ranking army officers and Sazonov, secretary for foreign affairs, recognized the necessity of mobilization. The latter asked for an appointment with the Czar, who at first refused to see him, but after some persuasion the wobbly-willed Nicholas changed his mind again and received his foreign secretary. After some more persuasion Nicholas reversed himself on the mobilization question and signed the order. Sazonov then telephoned the chief of staff and assured him of the Tsar's signature, whereupon the chief of staff replied, "All right, smash the telephone, and absent yourself for twenty-four hours." He was afraid that Nicholas might reverse his decision again.

Nicholas was not an able administrator. His lack of analysis denied him a comprehension of what a given situation demanded. Since he had an excellent memory he had a considerable store of information which he could recall at his pleasure, but he lacked the power of synthesis. Thus when the Revolution broke out in March, 1917, he failed to appreciate that it was more than one of the recurring disturbances which chronically afflicted the country. The President of the Duma, Rodzianko, wired him: "Steps must be taken at once as situation is more threatening than ever. Tomorrow will be too late. The last hour has struck which will decide the fate of the country and dynasty." Nicholas' response to this urgent measure for decisive action was given to Count Fredericks, one of his aides. "That stout Rodzianko has wired me all kinds of nonsense again. I do not believe that I shall bother to answer." In 1914 he allowed two armies in western Russia, which were supposed to cooperate, to be commanded by two generals who he knew were personal enemies. At the critical moment General Rennenkampf refused to come to the assistance of

General Samsonov, when the latter was attacked by Hindenburg and Ludendorff at Tannenberg; shortly thereafter, Hindenburg drove Rennenkampf pell mell out of East Prussia. Another example of his administrative incompetence occurred in March, 1917. On that occasion Nicholas' minister of transportation sympathized with the revolutionaries. When the Tsar, at Mogilev, tried to reach St. Petersburg to suppress the disturbances, the track was not open. Nicholas should have known better than to have left such a pivotal post in the hands of anyone of doubtful loyalty.

Likewise his instructions to Count Witte when he departed for the conference to close the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, reveal his incapacity to see a situation as it was. The Tsar ordered: "Not one square inch of Russian soil, not one kopek of tribute," was to be surrendered as indemnity or reparations. Russia, defeated on every front and seething with revolution at home, was in no position to define peace terms.

Another instance of his failure to appreciate the significance of unfolding events was his reaction to the sinking of the Russian fleet in May, 1905 in the Straits of Tsushima. That catastrophe marked for a long time the end of Russian seapower, and it could not help but contribute materially to Russia's loss of the war with Japan. The news of the sinking arrived in St. Petersburg, on May 27, 1905, when Nicholas was playing tennis. An officer handed him the report of the loss of the fleet. Nicholas read it, folded it, put it in his pocket, and called to his tennis opponent, "Thirty-fifteen," and resumed the game. Earlier on the day following the sinking of the Petropavlovsk, General Rydzevsky had an appointment with Nicholas in his office. Nicholas took the general by the arm and said, "Look at the weather. Wouldn't it be just the day for hunting? Do you realize that we two have not gone hunting for a long time? What day is this? Friday? Well, let's go tomorrow."

Immediately after her coronation Elizabeth I of England shouted in joyous intoxication, "This is the Lord's will and it is good." She loved to rule. To her the exercise of power was the very elixir of living. Nicholas did not share this enthusiasm. To him work was an oppressive burden, a sacrificial duty from which he derived no pleasure. In his diary there are

frequent entries: "Again and again, these ministers with their reports." Each of these seemed to him like a cross of thorns. To his diary he confided: "My soul is weary. Everything is unspeakably difficult and sad." In considering the life of Nicholas, that of Louis XVI comes to mind. As the crown was pressed on Louis' head at his coronation he winced and complained that it hurt. Nicholas' crown induced royal migraine.

His aversion to the performance of his duties was manifested when Kokovstev assumed the premiership in 1911 after the assassination of Stolypin. Before Kokovstev opened his premiership he called on Nicholas, whom he found hanging pictures in the Livadia Palace in Crimea. Nicholas greeted him by saying, "Oh, I am so glad that you have come. You can tell me whether this picture hangs well or not." During Kokovstev's three-day stay in Livadia he was unable to get a serious conversation with the Tsar. Nicholas put him off repeatedly, and finally told his Prime Minister that he, Nicholas, had come to Livadia for a vacation, and that he did not want to be bothered with matters of state. These should be put off until his return to St. Petersburg.

When he did resume his official duties in the capital he sat disconsolately over his papers, "signed documents, studied reports, made marginal notes on them." He endured the necessary audiences with boredom, and he accepted his callers' departure with relief. More than once he said, "I would not want my worst enemy to have to bear my burdens."

The revolution of 1905 threatened established institutions and even the monarchy itself, and while it disturbed Nicholas, it did not seriously upset his normal routine. He walked in the park with his children once or twice a day, read to them at night, and spent a good deal of his time with his wife. With an unsurpassable calm he found time to play billiards, go swimming and bicycling; he went on little trips in a small motorboat, and on his return from these excursions he admired the sunsets. As Russia was seething with discontent he entered the ironical note in his diary, "Lovely times these."

In 1915 Nicholas dismissed his uncle, the Grand Duke Nicholas, as the chief of staff of the army, and assumed command of the forces himself. But he did not relinquish control of

civilian administration. He combined the two offices in his own person. Under such circumstances Peter the Great, a physical and intellectual giant, had created the Ruling Imperial Senate to manage civilian administration. Nicholas could not execute the responsibilities of one office, and his assumption of two doomed Russia to paralysis and defeat. The two-fold duties overwhelmed him. He became apathetic, went through his daily routine like an automaton. A spark of animation manifested itself only when he went for a walk in the garden, or sat down to dinner. As he took his departure for the front on March 8, 1917 he announced that he would play "dominoes in my spare time. . . . I consider that this is good for me." On the same evening food riots began in St. Petersburg, and two days later the Cossacks were fraternizing with the revolutionaries. That evening in response to a telephone call from St. Petersburg, Nicholas demanded that the disorders in the capitol should be stopped the next day. Nicholas was already operating in a political vacuum, but did not know it.

The explanation of this lassitude was neither laziness, indifference, nor negligence, but his synthesis of incompetence, fatalism and mysticism. According to him Russia's destiny would evolve, not according to human plans, but as directed by a Higher Power. Since he believed that the ultimate fate of his country was beyond the control of mortals, he insisted that it was useless and futile to become frenzied about the day-to-day occurrences. Therefore he maintained that it was largely immaterial what appointments were made or decisions reached. God's will would prevail over man's anyway. In his youth, confronted with a serious question, he had asked what his father would have done, so now in his maturity he left the matter to God. He maintained that he was influenced by an "inner voice," a communication from On High. No argument however irrefutable, no proof however convincing carried any weight against supernatural verdicts. One of his ministers observed that "If anything goes wrong, instead of kicking against it, he immediately thinks that God has willed it so, and abandons himself without resistance to the will of the Almighty." Nicholas corroborated this conclusion in a letter to his wife after his visit into southern Russia: ". . . There is an incredible,

sang hymns, carried ikons and offered prayers. an overwhelming number of small children—all future subjects. This fills me with joy and faith in God's mercy; I must await with confidence and security what is predestined for Russia." When he took over the supreme command of the Russian armies in 1915 he confided to Sazonov, his foreign secretary: "Perhaps a redeeming sacrifice is necessary to save Russia. I myself shall be that sacrifice. God's will be done." Even in the most perilous moments of his life he still clung to his faith in the supernatural. Shortly before the Romanov family was executed the Tsarevitch came running to him with tears in his eyes: "Dear Papa, they want to shoot you." Completely unruffled, the Tsar whispered, "It's the will of God in everything. Be quiet, my sufferer, be quiet."

Nicholas' mysticism, superstition, and occultism supported his belief in his own omnipotence, and discredited all democratic principles. He was an autocrat, but not an enlightened one. He was unintelligent and reactionary. His anointment convinced him of his infallibility. Those who differed with him were therefore wrong. Since he was right he had no need for a parliament. He was in agreement with his father's attitude toward constitutions. "How undignified is the position of a constitutional monarch." Furthermore, he was determined that a "parliament should not stand between himself and his beloved peasants." It is not surprising, therefore, that when he was approached by a group of Liberals with a constitution, Nicholas wrote across the margin, "What nonsense." Again when representatives of the nobility and municipalities appealed for a constitution he cautioned them not to be "carried away by senseless dreams." Governing was to be the function of the elect of God rather than by the cranks in the crowd. He would therefore have no truck with democracy. Like the small man that he was he tried by mere aloofness to hold himself superior to the common man. Peter the Great, with confidence in his greatness, had eaten out of the same bowl as his servant. Elizabeth, sure of her beauty, grace and dignity, had danced a minuet with a common soldier. But Nicholas II and Alexandra, fearful that association with the mob would expose their own diminutive characters, secluded themselves behind ikons, scepters,

crowns, thrones and shibboleths. Behind this barricade they wanted to project yesterday into the indefinite future. They would ride on the backs of the muzhiks, "booted and spurred by the Grace of God." They protected themselves, as the Hapsburgs had done before them, with a "standing army of soldiers, the sitting army of bureaucrats, the kneeling army of pietists and the sneaking army of informers." They crawled into the historical cocoons from which they growled at the rising protest against their reactionary policies. When his prime minister Witte made some reference to public opinion Nicholas answered, "What have I got to do with public opinion?" For the maintenance of order Nicholas reverted to his great-grandfather's maxim: "Submit and obey" instead of adopting Macaulay's: "Reform if you would preserve." As he saw it, every concession was a calamity. Rather than rely on sages and statesmen he surrounded himself with adventurers, charlatans, and crackpots dominated by a shrewd, lascivious and unscrupulous monk. This camarilla constituted a machine through which a narrow group of favorites systematized and fortified corruption and privilege. Nicholas was uncomfortable in the presence of great men with profound intelligence and comprehensive vision. He disliked Sergius Witte, the ablest man who served under him, and when he died Nicholas confided to a member of the St. Petersburg diplomatic corps: "Haven't you heard yet? Witte is dead. This is the happiest day of my life."

Since he had no confidence in popular government, he relied upon his autocratic powers. He was in agreement with Joseph de Maistre that "Russia is like a frozen corpse which will pollute the air frightfully when it thaws out." Nicholas aimed to keep it spiritually and politically rigid. His solution for democratic demonstrations was repression. His secret police constituted the most efficient branch of his government, and when they could not maintain order he called on the Cossacks. "Call out the Cossacks" became almost as commonplace on the Russian steppes as yodeling is in the Swiss Alps. The weakling resorts to violence in moments when the strong rely on reason. Nicholas displayed his cowardly ferocity on January 22, 1905 when thousands of petitioners appeared before the Winter Palace to request reforms.

The vast crowd assembled in orderly fashion, Nicholas, having learned of their approach, had fled to Tsarskoe Selo but had left the orders to disperse the crowd. Without warning the troops opened fire on the crowd and killed or wounded 1500 people. Subsequently January 22, 1905 has been known as Bloody Sunday. Nicholas merited a similar epithet. Beneath the surface of many weaklings there lurks a hideous savage. After the assassination of his Uncle Sergius, Nicholas provided another example of cowardly violence when General Kabitch, Governor of a Far Eastern province, called on him. General Kabitch recounted how he had calmed a vast horde of strikers and averted bloodshed by appearing on the veranda of his house and lecturing it on Christian virtues and man's destiny. Upon the conclusion of the address the crowd had dispersed in silence and shame, and gone back to work. Nicholas was unimpressed with the General's appeal to reason. He shouted: "You must shoot, General! You must use bayonets and bullets against the rabble! You must tear them to pieces!" Nicholas had a more enthusiastic appreciation of Captain Richter's suppression, in 1906, of an incipient disturbance in Reval. When Nicholas read Richter's report revealing that he had killed people right and left, the Tsar's comment was: "Fine! a capital fellow." Nicholas, detesting intellectuals and liberals, was inclined to rely on unfortunate advisors among whom there was a large proportion of reactionaries and Jew-baiters such as police chief Trepov, Interior minister von Plehve and Ignatiev. What was still worse was his reliance on the Black Hundreds, an extra-patriotic, extra-legal association whose object it was to extirpate all liberalism. To purify Russia, it indulged in almost every crime imaginable.

Government by terrorism produced a sullen and vengeful submission. Violence generated counter-violence, and Nicholas lived in horror of being assassinated. Extra precautions were taken to safeguard his life. After 1911 whole areas in which he moved were placed under martial law. When he traveled by train no one, except his immediate entourage, was permitted, under penalty of death, to approach within one mile of the royal train. There was hardly a journey that did not take a toll of several lives. When he was in the royal palace it was heavily

guarded by troops. Tsarskoe Selo came to resemble the Romanov family sanitarium or gaol. Alexandra burst into anguished crying: "Oh, when will we be able to dwell quietly like other people?"

Nicholas, who generally treated all situations with passivity and resignation, could not restrain himself when, in 1907, he wrote to his mother, "I hope you will understand, dear mother, what life has become for me. There is no chance for me to go horseback riding, no possibility for me to go anywhere. And to think that this happens here in quiet Peterhof. I am disgusted with my country, and I am filled with shame as I write this."

This attitude deprived him of a quality essential in a ruler—sympathy: and he manifested this human deficit on the evening of his coronation. The occasion was inaugurated by the ringing of all the churchbells, 16,000 in Russia, and the offering of prayers from as many priests. One of the features of the event was the Tsar's dispensing of presents, food packages, and coins to the poorer people of Moscow. At the signal to come forward to receive these gifts, 500,000 muzhiks scrambled toward the distribution center and in the mad rush 5,000 people were killed. That evening Nicholas not only authorized the coronation ball but opened it by dancing a quadrille as if there had been no tragedy. That night Nicholas and Alexandra amused themselves while the victims of the stampede were carted away to the morgues.

Nicholas' relations with his ministers were neither intimate nor confidential. The recognition of his incapacity to dominate a group of able men restrained him from assembling the ministry as a group any more often than was absolutely essential. Most of his business with the various ministers was conducted in personal interviews rather than in group associations. Furthermore, he pursued the policy of playing one minister off against another. Thus, he encouraged a feud between von Plehve, minister of Interior, and Witte, finance minister. He even undermined the policy of his foreign secretary by prosecuting a foreign policy through a personal secretariat of his own. It carried on a negotiation with foreign courts entirely independent of the foreign office, sometimes in opposition to it. This was especially

true in connection with his Far Eastern expansionist policy.

No minister or official of any kind experienced any sense of security in his relations with his sovereign. Thus when a minister had an interview with the Tsar and spent a delightful half hour or so with him, Nicholas might bid him a cordial farewell, and the caller would leave believing that he had not only the confidence but also the good will of the Little Father. But upon the caller's return to his office he might find his dismissal, without any explanation accompanying it. It was for such conduct that Sergius Witte called him "the Malicious Byzantine." What a contrast this was to the relations between Bismarck and William I. Bismarck always realized that he had the complete support of his king, in consequence of which the Iron Chancellor dared to undertake big projects and daring policies. In Russia Nicholas' treachery and deception made cowards and sycophants and tyrants of the whole bureaucracy. In St. Petersburg there were no Iron Chancellors, only tin gods.

Nicholas was alternately dazzled and offended by William II's aggressiveness and brazenness. He was able to resist William's request for his new steam yacht as a gift, but subsequently when a fire had devastated a village in Russian Poland, William took Nicholas by surprise by asking permission personally to go into the ravaged city to distribute 10,000 rubles to the stricken villagers. Nicholas granted the petition, but lacked the manhood to refuse the Kaiser's preposterous request for 10,000 rubles to pass out among the unfortunate people.

In spite of all Nicholas' weaknesses, he was always a devout husband and father, and absence from his wife and children assumed proportions of a tragedy. He gave unstintingly of his time to his Queen and his four daughters and only son, not as a matter of duty but in response to his love. The rawest recruit was no more homesick during World War I than Nicholas was for his family, and a return to them for a day or two consumed him with happiness. The most delightful moments of his life were spent in Tsarskoe Selo, the royal residence about fifteen miles from St. Petersburg. When a French ambassador first saw the palace, he remarked that it lacked only one thing: a glass cage for its enclosure. Situated in idyllic

charm surrounded by numerous residences, lakes, canals, rivers and waterfalls, Tsarskoe Selo seemed to Nicholas almost to fulfill the requirements of an Orthodox heaven. To this enchantment Nicholas retreated from the toil and care of governing. Here he became a country squire removed from worries and released from vexations.

He was not destined to enjoy his earthly paradise long. Upon demand of the revolutionary leaders and the high army officers, on March 15, 1917 to abdicate, Nicholas obediently complied. He committed to his diary: "It was necessary to save Russia and appease the army at the front. I agreed." The following morning he made another entry: "Slept long and well." Two days later he reported to his wife: "Mother has arrived for two days; so cozy and nice. Having dinner together in her train." Napoleon insisted that when a ruler sleeps and eats well, his reign is a failure.

On April 3, 1917, he left Mogilev, the military headquarters, and arrived on the following day at Tsarskoe Selo. "Went upstairs and saw Alice (Alexandra), my soul, and the poor children." The whole family remained under house arrest here until August, 1917 when all of its members, a few servants, and the family doctor, Botkin, were sent to Tobolsk in Siberia. They remained there until the following spring when they were transferred to Ekaterinsburg, where they arrived in April, 1918. During most of their imprisonment they were subjected to scarcity of materials and an abundance of insults. On July 15, 1918, the Ural District Soviet of Workmen, Cossacks and Red Army Deputies charged Nicholas with being a party to a counter-revolutionary plot to overthrow the Bolshevik regime by secretly corresponding with White Russian Generals Denikin and Dutoff. On the night of July 16, Nicholas and his whole family were ordered to descend to the basement, ostensibly to escape stray bullets of the Civil War armies which might have hit them. No sooner were they in the basement than Bolshevik soldiers shot Nicholas, Alexandra, their children, three maids and Dr. Botkin. Their bodies were then placed in a truck and hauled a few miles outside the town and thrown into an abandoned pit and burned. Thus came the close of the last Romanov, "born on the day of the sufferer Job."

The Teachers' Page

HYMAN M. BOODISH

Dobbins Vocational-Technical School and The Junto Adult School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

For social studies teachers who are *history-oriented* teachers, *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* should provide pleasant reading. This journal, devoted exclusively to American History, periodically offers excellent historical studies of interesting aspects of our history that are not generally found in textbooks. One that we found especially interesting dealt with "Ambassadors at the Court of Theodore Roosevelt" (September, 1955). As would be expected, Roosevelt's personality stands out as a dynamic force in foreign relations.

Although certain historical events lose their significance in terms of their continued impact on present and future events, they may continue to hold the spotlight in American history textbooks. Such an event is the single electoral vote cast against President Monroe in the 1820 election. According to legend, Monroe failed of unanimous reelection because one of the electors "did not want Washington to be robbed of the glory of being the only President who had ever received the unanimous vote of the electors." This legend, according to Lynn W. Turner (writing in the same Journal) has no basis in truth. The article delves not only into the events of the election of 1820 but into the background of William Plumer of New Hampshire, who cast the vote against Monroe "for the plainest of all possible reasons, because he was convinced that Monroe had been a poor president and that John Quincy Adams would make a better one."

"One of the erroneous assumptions about the 'Era of Good Feeling,'" continues the author, "is that near unanimity of the 1820 election indicated an equally widespread popular approval of Monroe's administration. Contemporary sources, however, show that many diverse elements of the Republican party itself . . . inveighed against public extravagance and the policy of deficit financing.

* * * * *

Nation's Business, January, 1956, contains a

special series of articles on this "year of political decision." The contributors are the members of President Eisenhower's cabinet. There is also an article by Dr. Allan Nevins, professor of American History at Columbia University. Dr. Nevins writes on "U. S. Prestige at Stake in Campaign." Only a small portion, the beginning few paragraphs, is devoted to the theme indicated in the title of the article. Dr. Nevins feels:

"The position of the United States as the chief pillar of freedom in the world has resulted in complicated and massive commitments which demand the most anxious care. The problem today is to preserve our unity at home and our prestige abroad, no matter which party elects the next president. A bitter party struggle, a convulsion, could have the most disastrous consequences.

"A campaign which, for partisan ends, would spread confusion abroad and mistrust abroad is a luxury the United States can no longer afford. Nor can we afford a battle that would so shake confidence in our high-g geared economic machine as to threaten a recession . . .

"At the same time, the country needs all the long range benefits of hard-hitting debate on real issues. We want no Donnybrook, but neither do we want to see parties shadow boxing."

The rest of Dr. Nevins' article goes into an analysis of some of the major issues and the basic differences between the two political parties. Dr. Nevins agrees with many other experts that both the Republican and the Democratic parties are basically interested in the same long-term goals. Most newspaper columnists and editorials, and radio and television commentators seemed to agree, after the President delivered the State of the Union Message, that the President's program embodied in it much of the New and Fair Deal philosophy. In fact, some of the Democratic leaders were quite disturbed by the fact that Mr. Eisenhower took

over much of the Democratic program. Yet, there is a difference between the two parties, and Dr. Nevins does an excellent job in analyzing this difference:

"First, although both parties believe in a steady expansion of the economy, most Democrats wish to effect it by increasing consumer buying power—by higher wages, more employment, and larger government guarantees even at the cost of a little inflation. Most Republicans prefer to effect it by promoting capital investment—by larger profits and savings.

"Second, the parties take a somewhat different attitude toward the socio-economic reforms of the past twenty-five years. Both favor retaining and expanding them. But the Democrats, in dealing with social security, minimum wages, unemployment insurance, and the like, and in helping provide more schools, roads, hospitals and housing, would pay no close attention to budget balancing and debt reduction. They would rely heavily on Federal action. The Republicans would emphasize budgetary caution, tax or debt reduction, and sound fiscal management, while they would throw more of the burden on states and municipalities.

"Finally, in meeting demands of labor and the farmers, the Republicans would act with an eye to long-term results, while Democrats would move quickly and directly."

Not all people may agree with this analysis, but it does bring to focus differences in philosophy. The remaining portion of the article is devoted to a consideration of the issues growing out of these basic differences and other problems that face the country, particularly, foreign affairs, racial segregation, and civil liberties.

* * * * *

The influence that teachers can have upon the developing personalities of students is probably one of the most significant responsibilities of teaching. We know that a growing child can be seriously affected with respect to character development by a wide variety of external environmental models—ranging from the postman, fireman and Superman, to his father, teacher and President of the United States (as he learns about him through others). Some models are fleeting and superficial in their

influence, and represent a stage in the "growing up" process. Other models are more lasting and have greater depth in their influence. Parents, of course, fall into the latter category. Sometimes an individual teacher, an aunt or uncle, or a friend may have similar influences.

The overall character and personality traits of any person is a product of the repeated conditioning influences of life together with the unconscious and conscious strivings of the child, to be like some person who becomes his ideal. In addition to modeling himself after some selected hero or heroine, the child acquires his various personality traits, such as confidence or lack of confidence from the various kinds of contacts he has with these models. In this respect teachers assume even greater significance.

An excellent article on this phase of the subject appeared in *The Clearing House* (October, 1955), entitled "Self Confidence Can be Undermined or Developed in School." The author, Emma Reinhardt, teaches a course in "Human Growth, Development, and Learning." She asked her students to do the following assignments:

"Describe an episode which happened to you in elementary school which tended to destroy or undermine your self-confidence or self-respect. Give the circumstances which led up to this episode and the background causes so far as you now understand them.

"Similarly, describe an episode which helped increase your self-confidence or caused you to find yourself. Again, describe the circumstances and the background."

The results are both interesting and significant as reported in the following excerpts from two student papers.

(1) "When I was in the seventh grade, I wanted to be in a class play. The teacher told me that I had a good voice but that I could not be in the play because I was too fat. She told me this in front of the whole class. I felt terrible and for one whole week I would eat nothing but fruit. For a long time I dreaded to go to school because I was ashamed of my weight. Even now I can remember how I felt when all my friends laughed at me for being fat. I do not believe

the teacher meant to hurt me, but the remark just slipped out. Of course, I was very sensitive about my size anyway.'"

(2) "This happened in the middle of my freshman year in high school. My brother, Paul, was very intelligent and I was always told how wonderful he was. He had graduated from high school at sixteen as valedictorian in a class of over five hundred boys. Even though I did not attend the same high school, teachers were always asking if I were Paul's sister.

'In English class one day we were assigned a short story. I read the wrong story and next day when we had a test I handed in a blank paper. I expected the teacher to be angry, but I did not expect her to make a big issue of it the following day. She demanded to know why I had handed in a blank paper. When I gave my excuse, with the class laughing at me, she said it was too bad I was so stupid that I couldn't at least have thought up a better excuse. She said that my mother was probably disappointed because I wasn't half so bright as my brother and that my brother was probably ashamed of having such a sister. I felt like crying but did not want to break down in class so I got up and started to walk out. My teacher yelled, 'Where do you think you're going?' I lost my temper and told her to go home and yell at her own kids but to let me alone.

'I guess it wasn't her fault completely because she didn't know how I had Paul shoved down my throat at home. But I still don't believe she had any right to compare me with Paul. Sure I was rude and nasty to her but it was in self-defense. I was sent to the discipline office, where I was told to apologize to her, but I just said she owed me an apology first. This was the beginning of a hectic two years of school for me. Most of the teachers expected me to be dumb and cause trouble; so I did.'"

As a summary for this, we quote the author: "The students' reports make clear the importance of minimizing the number of incidents that lower self-confidence or self-esteem and of multiplying the number of wholesome situations that engender self-respect.

"In an impatient gesture or a hasty word may lurk the genesis of a personality disorder

for some pupil. On many a hectic day bristling with problems a teacher may have occasion to remind himself that 'a tart temper never mellows with age, and a sharp tongue is the only edged tool that grows keener with constant use.'

"Happily, by way of contrast, a smile of encouragement or a word of approval may spur a pupil to worthy accomplishments. Again and again a teacher witnesses the beautiful miracles which can be wrought 'by leading a despairing child into a trifling success.'"

* * * * *

Emotional Effects of Elementary School Testing

A significant study on the effects of testing on the emotional behavior of children was reported in *Understanding the Child* (October, 1955). A very pointed observation was that one of the sources used for the study—a questionnaire—had to be discarded because of the vagueness and inconsistency of the answers by the teachers. The example below, was cited by Dr. Arthur R. DeLong, author of the report.

On the question whether taking a test has any emotional effects one teacher responded,

"It increases the competitive spirit. It has no emotional effect."

Is it possible that some teachers identify emotional effects as being altogether of an undesirable nature?

The article gives some very interesting pupil responses, observed during the process of taking a test—most of which are of a negative nature. The author concludes as follows:

"Until proved otherwise, the cause and effect of such deviations in behavior (during testing) may be assumed to relate significantly to the character and personality development of individuals and most assuredly requires serious attention from educators and researchers concerned with the growth of children."

HUMAN BEHAVIOR AND SOCIAL LIVING *A Course Outline in Lesson Form*

for

High School Students

LESSON 6

TO GAIN AN OVERALL VIEW OF THE CULTURAL
FOUNDATIONS OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR
AND PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

Beginning the Lesson

A. Have a class discussion on the differences

in some of the customs (parent-child relations, marriage, religious rites, holidays, eating habits, typical foods) among the various nationalities or races with which the students are familiar.

- B. Have volunteer students relate their impressions of such personal events or conditions in their lives as the arrival of a baby brother or sister; a birthday party; a funeral; being the oldest, only, youngest, or middle child in the family; the absence of a parent from the home.

Words and Concepts We Need To Know and Understand

Identification: Adopting or assuming the role of another person, an animal, or object. It involves "placing oneself in someone else's shoes" and behaving and feeling as that person might behave or feel. Identification may be conscious as when a person *imitates* or *mimics* another; or, it may be unconscious as when a person acts or feels like another without being aware of it. The latter is called *introjection*. Imitation and introjection may take place separately or together.

Example of identification (imitation): Mimicking the mannerisms of another person.

Example of introjection: Feeling pangs of sorrow or weeping when watching a death scene in the movies.

Model: A person, animal, or object which serves as a stimulus in the process of identification.

Play acting: The role-playing by children in play activities or games.

Psychodrama: Spontaneous and unrehearsed dramatization, or a situation or scene in which the participating individuals try to identify themselves with the character roles in the situation.

Example: A group of high school students acting out a scene in which the principal, counselor, and a classroom teacher discuss what to do about a disobedient student.

Rejection: Withholding or failure to give love to a person; not accepting someone.

Role playing: Portraying or acting out the character part of one or more of the persons in any given situation. Role playing involves identification.

Socialization process: All experiences which are

directed towards developing a child into a social being.

Sociodrama: Same as psychodrama.

THINGS TO DO

A. Answer the Following Questions

1. What are some of the elements that make up the cultural environment of a growing child?
2. How does a child learn what is moral? immoral? good? bad? beautiful? ugly? honorable? dishonorable?
3. What are some of the things that make up "the home?"
4. What are some of the ways by which the home attempts to bring about the socialization of the child?
5. What are some of the obstacles to the socialization of a child?
6. What are the two kinds of identification?
7. What is role playing or play acting?
8. What importance does identification have in personality development?
9. When is identification undesirable?

B. Projects and Reports

1. Panel discussion: How important are the mass communication media, radio, television, newspaper and the comic books, in the development of character?
2. Enact psychodramas, using one or more of the following:
 - a. Parents and a teen-age daughter discussing the daughter's coming home late.
 - b. See scene described in vocabulary under *Psychodrama*.
 - c. Parents, counselor, and student discussing future career of student.
3. Individual reports. Show how one or more of the following influence your own personality.
 - a. Being an only child (select any other category).
 - b. The first spanking I received.
 - c. A birthday party.
 - d. The arrival of a brother or a sister.
 - e. The absence of a parent from the home.

C. What to Read

Crow, Lester D., and Alice Crow, *Learning To Live With Others*. Chapter XI: Experiencing social relations.

Jordan, Helen Mougey, *You and Marriage*. Chapter IV: What is personality? Chapter V: Family member roles and conflicts of culture.

Lloyd-Jones, Esther, and Ruth Feder, *Coming of Age*. Chapter I: Personality in the

making. Chapter III: Adjustments in family relationships.

Pierce, Wellington G., *Youth Comes of Age*. Chapter III: The family's influence on us. Sorenson, Herbert, and Marguerite Malm, *Psychology for Living*. Chapter I: What you are born with and what you acquire.

Visual and Other Aids

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER

Washington Junior High School, Mount Vernon, New York

A new free illustrated catalog and a free booklet, "Better Teaching With Filmstrips," are available by writing to Heritage Filmstrips, Inc., 89-11 63rd Drive, Rego Park 74, New York, producers and sole distributors of the "Backgrounds of Our Freedom" filmstrip series. Titles now available are: "Causes of the American Revolution," "Zenger and Freedom of the Press," "The American Revolution," "The Anti-Slavery Crusade," "Passing a Bill in Congress," "Popular Sovereignty, U.S.A.," "The Triumph of Parliament," "Development of the British Electoral System-I (1200-1832)," "Development of the British Electoral System-II (1832 to Present)," "Causes of the French Revolution," and "The French Revolution." The 1955-56 Catalog also describes the history of the series as a whole.

Young America Films, Inc., has released a new filmstrip series (biographical) for use in social studies classes. It includes such titles as Samuel F. B. Morse, Thomas A. Edison, Alexander G. Bell, Eli Whitney, Luther Burbank, and Cyrus H. McCormick. Write to Young America Films, Inc., 18 E. 41st St., New York City, N. Y.

FILMS

Lafayette: Soldier of Fortune. 16 min. B&W. Sound. Sale. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc., Willamette, Ill.

This film, offering dramatic highlights in the life of the great French patriot who has come to symbolize the traditional friendship of France and America, is designed for United States and world history in the junior and senior high schools. Actually the purpose of

this film is to bring to life the story of Lafayette, highlighting the contributions he and the French nation made to the War for Independence, and the influence America had in turn on the growth of democratic ideas and ideals in France. It explains why Lafayette symbolizes the friendship and common political principles of the two countries. It offers an excellent springboard for further study of both the American and French revolutions.

Guest Reviewer: J. S. Dempsey, Chicago, Ill.

Pledge of Allegiance. 10 min. Sale. Color. Avis Films, 904 E. Palm Ave., Burbank, Calif.

The film opens with the explanation of the development of the flag, and its use in public places. This is followed by detailed definition and pictorial illustration of the actual words of the Pledge of Allegiance. The story appropriately closes with the recitation of the Pledge, accompanied by stirring flag scenes.

Land of the Long Day. 38 min. B&W. Color. Sale or rental. International Film Bureau, 57 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill.

Idlout, an Eskimo hunter, tells of his life on Baffin Island.

Eskimo Summer. 17 min. B&W. Color. Sale or rental. International Film Bureau.

This is the only film on Eskimos to stress the importance of group activity in their life.

Eskimo Arts and Crafts. 22 min. B&W. Color. Sale or rental. International Film Bureau. Arts and crafts are an important part of the life of the Baffin Island Eskimos.

Pacific Paradox. 25 min. B&W. Sale. Sterling Educational Films, Inc., 205 E. 43rd St., New York 17, N. Y.

Deals with the Aborigenes of Australia, one of the last ancient civilizations remaining in this age of atomic energy and jet propulsion.

Our Town Is the World. 15 min. B&W. Sale.

Sterling Educational Films. A lesson in democracy and fair play presented on a community level.

Medieval Village. 20 min. B&W. Sound. Sale.

United World Films, 1445 Park Ave., New York 29, N. Y.

The social history of the English village of Lanton is traced from the 12th Century.

Medieval World. 10 min. B&W. Sale. United World Films.

Scenes from the English walled town of York, the Flemish Guildhalls of Ghent, and the French cathedral of Chartres.

FILMSTRIPS

Four Great Churches. 78 fr. Color. Sale. Life Filmstrips, 9 Rockefeller Pl., New York 20, N. Y.

A tour of four great cathedrals: Ulm in Bavaria with its awe-inspiring spire, St. Mark's in Venice with its art masterpieces, Wells in England with its architectural innovations, and

Bourges in France with its Gothic grandeur.

The Middle Ages. 48 fr. Color. Sale. Life Filmstrips.

Included are scenes from Carcassone, the cathedrals of Amiens, Chartres, and Notre Dame in Paris, and Duc de Berry's *Book of Hours* based on The History of Western Culture.

Alexander The Great. 55 fr. Color. Sale. Audio-Visual Guide, 1630 Springfield Ave., Maplewood, N. J.

A good aid in teaching world history, in appreciating the background of current events, as well as the study of biography and literature.

Britain: Atlantic Neighbor. 56 fr. B&W. Sale.

Office of Educational Activities, *The N. Y. Times*, Times Sq., New York 36, N. Y.

It examines the grave problems currently confronting the nation—inflation, trade, defense, colonial aspirations, unrest and its relations with the U. S. and Russia.

India's Many Faces. 59 fr. B&W. Sale. Office of Educational Activities, *The N. Y. Times*.

Touching on India's heritage and fetters of tradition, the filmstrip examines the achievements since India became independent in 1947.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

Head, Department of Social Studies, Abraham Lincoln High School, Philadelphia, Pa.

History of the Cold War. By Kenneth Ingram. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1955. Pp. 239. \$5.00.

At the outset, Mr. Ingram announces that he intends to present an objective account, without personal bias. Either this reviewer is so submerged in pro-libertarian prejudices that he thinks any impartial account is pro-Soviet, or else author Ingram imagines that for a Westerner "objectivity" must consist in belabored apology of Soviet actions and policies.

In any event, the book takes us through the 1945-1952 period with a chronicle of events,

statements, counter-events and counter-statements. More often than not, the Devil emerges from each encounter in a white-washed or at least somewhat scrubbed-up condition.

True to another introductory promise, the author quotes from time to time from both sides. There are many lapses from the path of strict impartiality, however, as when the author counters a Soviet condemnation of the West with a quotation in which some Westerner puts his foot in his mouth.

Nor does the book entirely escape from downright asininity, as, for example, where we are

informed that (1) as far as elections are concerned, Western traditions are foreign to Russians and to Eastern Europe (p. 23), (2) the case of the fifteen non-expatriated Soviet wives was a kind of tempest in a teapot (p. 52), (3) the 89 per cent 1948 pro-communist vote in Czechoslovakia was in large part a sincere expression of Czech enthusiasm for social reform (pp. 93-5), (4) the Soviet proposal of a unity-supervising commission appointed by "the two German governments" was "probably as fair a guarantee as could be devised" (p. 145), (5) the charges and action against Cardinal Mindszenty possibly might have been justified (p. 152), (6) there is room for doubt as to whether Americans employed bacteriological warfare in the Orient or not (pp. 206-207), and (7) Red military action played no role in the rise of Communism in most of Eastern Europe — though this notion runs into head-on collision with a quotation' (pp. 101-102), taken directly from a statement by the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia: "... the Soviet Army came to the aid of the Yugoslav people, crushed the German invader, liberated Belgrade and in this way created the conditions which were necessary for the C.P.Y. to achieve power."

Conclusion: The U.S.S.R. is not particularly aggressive, but has been made neurotic by Western, especially American, belligerency. Fortunately, the book comes to an end at this point.

University of Colorado
Boulder, Colorado

JAMES L. BUSEY

The Dynamics of Social Interaction. By Anita Yourglich. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1954. Pp. vi, 128. \$2.50.

In spite of its over-ambitious title, this small work is but an introductory textbook in sociology—and a good one at that. It does not, as the blurb claims, "humanize sociology," but it does summarize the conventional areas of sociology: Society, Culture, Personality; Human Interaction in the Group; and Social Processes. The bibliographies are rather extensive and also somewhat chaotic, since the author does not explain why certain textbooks are featured and others glossed over or "forgotten."

In short, the little book says nothing new whatever, but what it presents is good. Yet, its rather steep price will prevent its offering too much of a competition to the several "college outlines" dominating the present market.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

University of Bridgeport
Bridgeport, Connecticut

United States History, Revised Edition. By Fremont P. Wirth. New York: American Book Company, 1955. Pp. lxvii, 734. \$4.40.

United States History is a complete text and may serve the purpose of course outline supplemented by outside material at the option of instructor, group chairman or student. History majors requiring ready reference, laymen desiring to understand the news of the day, and the confined individual will have one of the finest volumes of its kind on history and world problems at their disposal.

Unusual eye appeal, clarity and utility of the book will appeal to the special school where other than academic qualities must be considered. A president, dean or tutor will enhance his personal and institutional prestige by identifying *United States History Revised* as a component of his program to the parent, student or benefactor.

Our author describes the origin of America from centuries past with ten topical work units which bring us up to date with the United States in the position of world leader. There is a balance of both topical and chronological events. The teacher who prefers to present one major topic consecutively may do so by combining chapters from a number of chronological units.

Fremont P. Wirth, professor of History, of the George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee, is the author. With the aid of several outstanding people in the history field, he presents the work in an easy-to-understand style. Several color mats, maps, pictures, charts, table of contents, a generous and detailed index with a biography and other features are included. This book is a credit to the history profession.

HARRY GRANSBACK

Lincoln High School
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

John A. Kasson. By Edward Younger. Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1955. Pp. x, 450. \$6.50.

Professor Younger's superb biography of John A. Kasson is the most recent and certainly one of the best of the biographies sponsored by the State Historical Society of Iowa. The study is subtitled, "Politics and Diplomacy from Lincoln to McKinley," and it gives us a far better picture of both than we have gotten from many more pretentious books about more important figures.

Younger has portrayed the career of a constructive conservative whose contributions were substantial even though they seemed to fall short of great success. Kasson's career includes a boyhood in Vermont, young manhood on a Virginia plantation and in a Massachusetts whaling village in the 1840's, and early success as a lawyer and politician in St. Louis and Des Moines in the 1850's. He was a moderate Republican who remained completely loyal to Lincoln in the face of growing radical attacks.

Kasson's service to the nation stemmed from his missions to an international postal convention which did much to bring about the subsequent Universal Postal Union, missions to Vienna and Berlin and his work as President McKinley's "Minister Plenipotentiary to negotiate reciprocity treaties."

It was Kasson's misfortune that his successes were seldom spectacular. It is our good fortune that a first-rate biographer was not deterred by the lack of drama.

University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

DAVID S. SPARKS

Roman Civilization, Selected Readings. Vol. II, "The Empire." Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Naphtali Lewis and Meyer Reinhold. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. Pp. x, 652. \$7.50.

This volume, No. XLV, *Records of Civilization*—a collection of sources and studies edited under the auspices of the Department of History, Columbia University—carries the chronology from the establishment of the Principate to Constantine and the triumph of Christianity.

In all, over 600 selection are provided; they

have been chosen from the literary, epigraphical, and papyrological remains of the mighty empire of Rome, the majority from fairly familiar sources, although it is said that at least 200 of the materials are new in the English translations. These, by the way, were made by the editors, Professors Lewis and Reinhold, Columbia University.

As is well known (although not too frequently capitalized upon in high school teaching) Rome's ecumenial sway—across three continents from the Atlantic to the Caspian—embraced a multiplicity of peoples of the greatest diversity of cultural origins and differing stages of social development, and left a vast treasure of source materials, rich and extensive, in Latin and Greek.

To better bring this splendid resource to teachers and students the editors have organized their work around nine chapters or sections, generally arranged on a chronological basis. Beginning with the "Age of Augustus" four sections follow entitled the "Pax Romana." Each of the parts dealing with the great Roman peace is handled topically, imperial policy, economic life, science, and non-urban life each demanding its share in the elaboration of this unique phase of the world's history.

Section 6 devotes itself to offerings interpreting "The Crisis of the 3rd Century" and then ensue background treatments of the "Roman Army," "Law," and the "Conflict of Religion and the State" which foreshadows the eventual triumph of the Christian religion.

Several ordinary sources are proffered, e.g., Caesar's *Gallie Wars* and the *New Testament*, but even when names are not unknown fresh material usually greets the eye. The Notes, too, will be found to be of positive value in connection with problems of chronology, imperial protocol, and antique terminology.

Roman Civilization should easily prove its worth in re-juvenating the jaded "civilization" courses which frequently obtain in high school and lower college. The serious student, of course, will be able to understand world relationships more successfully and could easily develop an affinity for Mr. Arnold Toynbee's provocative theories of cultural decline and growth—since the history of the Roman Empire illustrates much that he writes so

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KENNETH V. LOTTICK

Willamette University
Salem, Oregon.

American Philosophy. Edited by Ralph B. Winn. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1955. Pp. xviii, 318. \$6.00.

This volume should be more useful as a general introduction to philosophy than as a survey of American thought.

The first 127 pages are devoted to essays by individual contributors who explain to the uninitiated such fields of philosophy as scientific method, human values, aesthetics, ethics, semantics and so on. Considering the number of contributors this section is surprisingly uniform in both style and level of presentation. The one exception is the article on aesthetics (*e.g.*, "An aspect of nature is not beautiful for Lipps in its actual relation to the practical self but only as sublimated to an object of empathy for the inner psyche.")

The next 90 pages are devoted to what might be called the leading philosophies of philosophy—such as transcendentalism, idealism, Thomism, pragmatism, naturalism, and so forth. In the sections on Thomism and positivism, American thinkers seem to be dragged in by the hair to fit the title of the book. The contribution, "Oriental Philosophy in America," solves the same problem by transplanting a set of foreign ideas to the American geographical location.

Clarity of presentation and organization, and simplicity of expression, make of the first two parts of *American Philosophy* a generally useful contribution to popular philosophical understanding.

It is difficult to say what function is served by Part III, which includes thumb-nail biographical sketches of 26 Americans, many of whom are known more as statesmen or politicians than as philosophical giants. This concluding section, which is about the only exclusively "American" part of the book, simply gives to each person listed a few paragraphs

of personal description and two quotations. Almost any encyclopedia entry would do as well.

Part of the problem of *American Philosophy* is set by the title of the book. Philosophy can only with the greatest difficulty be confined geographically to any one region of the earth.

JAMES L. BUSEY

University of Colorado,
Boulder, Colorado

Sociology: A Text with Adapted Readings. By Leonard Broom and Philip Selznick. Evanston, Illinois, and White Plains, New York: Row, Peterson, and Company, 1955. Pp. xvii, 660. \$6.50.

New ideas are appearing in the teaching of the college introductory course in sociology, and this handsome volume presents one of the most interesting. The plan of the book is basic to its evaluation. Part I includes the usual introductory chapter on sociology as an academic discipline, and a chapter each on eight of the most fundamental concepts in sociology: social organization, culture, socialization, primary groups, social stratification, associations, collective behavior, and population and ecology. Part II applies the generalizations and concepts of Part I to six specialized areas: the family, the city, minorities, industrial sociology, political sociology, and criminal behavior. Each of the chapters in Part II follows the same outline, the major topics being those studied theoretically in Part I. The integration thus achieved of the theoretical and the practical aspects of the subject appears to be very successful. In both Parts the rather ample text discussion has been supplemented by readings "adapted" (that is, shortened and simplified) mainly from professional sources.

In addition, several simple research projects for students are outlined. It is suggested, too, that a class could make its own sociological analysis of an area of the subject not included in Part II, but following the outline used by the authors in Part II. The book appears to be quite flexible, adaptable to either one or two semesters, and to either a theoretical or an applied slant.

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The Jews In American History. Editor, Jacob I. Hartstern. New York: National Program Division, 1955. Pp. iii, 100. \$2.00.

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